

THE  
L I F E  
OF THE  
EMPEROUR  
Theodosius the Great.

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Written originally in *French* by the  
famous Abbot *Flechier*, now Bishop  
of *Nimes*. of the *French* Academy,  
for the Use of the *Dauphin*.

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Englished by  
Mr. FRANCIS MANNING.

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*Est quoddam tentare. Ovid.*

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TO THE  
Deservedly Honoured  
Charles Duncomb, Esq;

S I R,

**I** Am bold to present you with the Life of the Great *Theodosius*, whom Pagans Authors have extolled above the Princes his Predecessors, and whom the Fathers of the Church have proposed for an Example to Christian Princes, who ought to pursue his Steps.

This History, Sir, includes great Events, and one may collect from hence Instructions of singular Importance. You will observe herein, on one side *Barbarians* repulsed to their ancient bounds; Rebels brought over by Sweetness, or reduc'd to obedience by Force; Tyrants rewarded for their Cruelty and Perfidiousness;

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and the Empire thrice established by the Valor of *Theodosius*: On the other side Heresy pulled down, Idolatry confounded, the Abuses of the Age reformed, and the Church, after an Oppression of several Reigns, restored to its former Liberty, by the Edicts of this wise and pious Emperor.

You will observe here, Sir, the Spirit and Character of a Prince, who tempers his Power by his Goodness; who never separates the Interests of Religion from those of the State; who knows how to give Laws to Men, and to submit himself to those of God; who triumphs over his Enemies, as much by Virtue of his Faith and Prayers, as of his Courage and his Arms, and who unites in his Person, Valor and Piety, the Grandeur of the Age, and a Christian Moderation.

I doubt not, Sir, but you will admire, the different Vertues, that he practised in the different Conditions of his Life. He served Emperors, as soon as his Age would permit him to bear Arms. Scarce had he served any time in the Armies, but he was found capable

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ble of commanding them. The Reputation which he gained in great Employments, procured him the Envy and Disgrace of even those, who ought to have protected him; but he supported his adverse Fortune without Weakness, as he enjoyed his Prosperity without Pride. He came to the Empire at a time, when there was not only a Necessity to govern it, but to re-establish it; and his first cares extended to the making his Subjects happy. He was a lover of Peace, and feared less to suffer an injustice, than to commit one. He put an end to several Wars through his Valor, and undertook not one through Ambition. He was always more inclined to pardon, than to punish; and having once abandoned himself to his Anger, he expiated by a public Penitence the Fault, which he had committed rather by the Persuasion of his Ministers, than by a Depravation of Mind.

This long Retinue of glittering Actions might induce you to believe, Sir, that I send you the Panegyric of this Emperor; and not his History; but you will see, that I don't aggravate



### *The Epistle Dedicatory.*

gravate his Vertues, nor yet dissemble his Faults: and that without exceeding those bounds which are prescribed me, I expose the actions, which are advanced as real truths, founded upon the Testimony of ancient Authors, and not as Idea's of Perfection, that are only imaginary.

It were to be wished, that the manner of Writing were answerable to the Dignity of the Subject. But I hope, Sir, that you will excuse what is wanting in the one, and that you will approve of the choice which is made of the other. As for me, I pretend to nothing, but the Glory of having brought in the execution of my Design, all the Care and Exactness I am capable of: Happy, if my Labors shall become acceptable to You, whose extraordinary Merits have engaged me to take the Liberty of presenting you with this piece, which may serve to divert you sometimes, after the Fatigues of weightier Business.

It is sufficiently known, Sir, that your endowments are excellent, that your thoughts  
are

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are equally strong and sublime, that you have not less of Delicacy, than Penetration and Vivacity, and that your Answers are as just and agreeable, as ready and decisive. All these advantages of Mind, that shine in you, in a peculiar manner are supported by a noble Air, a greatness of Soul, and a Thousand Vertues which distinguish you so advantageously in your Country.

These eminent Qualities don't render you inaccessible to those, who are inferior to you; and far from discouraging my approach to you, they have suggested to me the Design of giving you this Testimony of that profound Respect, with which I am,

S I R,

*Your most Humble, and*

*most Obedient Servant,*

*Trddington,*

*Jan. 11<sup>th</sup>*

*1693*

*F. M.*

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# THE L I F E

OF

*Theodosius the Great.*

## BOOK I.

II. **T**HE Empire began to fall from that State of Grandeur and Power wherein *Constantine* had fixed it by his Piety and victorious Arms. *Constantinus* and *Constance*, two of his Sons, governed one the East, the other the West; but as they enjoyed not the great qualities of their Father, so were they neither beloved of their Subjects, nor feared of their Enemies like him; and they had much ado to sustain a part of that burden, which he himself had born with so much glory.

It was about the ninth year of their Reign, when *Theodosius* was born at *Italica*, a little City of *Spain*, upon the banks of the River *Betis*. He was of a very Noble Family, and descended from the race of *Trajan*, whom he was al-  
ways

ways very desirous to resemble. His Father's name was *Theodosius*, and his Mother *Thermantia*, both endowed with all the virtues that were agreeable to their Sex. He soon made appear an admirable nature, and he was educated with abundance of care. He had for his Tutor, one *Anatolius*, a learned man, that despised Riches, but forgot nothing for his advancement to Honors. This Philosopher taught him the first principles of humane Sciences; and foreseeing that they would soon rob him of his Scholar to send him to the War, he made haste to frame his *Genius*, and rendered him in a little time capable to judge of the merit and works of learned men. He made it his principal business to inspire him with good and generous Sentiments, by observing to him in History those Examples, which he ought to pursue; and gave him the first impressions of honour and probity, which since ruled all the actions of his Life. Scarce was *Theodosius* past his Infancy, but his Father, who by his valor and his prudence was advanced to the chief employments of war, resolved to take him along with him to the first expedition, that should be attempted against the *Barbarians*.

III. In the mean while the Empire in a little space of time had undergone several revolutions! *Constance* had miserably perished by the treachery of the Tyrant *Magnentius*: *Constantius* his Brother was dead in *Cilicia*, vexed at the ill success of those wars he had as ill sustained against the *Persians*. *Julian* his Successor being inconsiderately engaged in the conquest of *Persia*,  
had

had been killed in battel. And *Jovian*, a valiant and religious Prince, after having reigned eight months, came to dye suddenly in his bed, being stifled with the smoke of Coals, which had been kindled in his Chamber, in order to make it dry.

IV. The Troops, which were then in *Bithynia*, advanced as far as *Nicea*, and without giving leisure to pretenders to make their factions, the Army assembled to elect a new Emperor. *Valentinian* was proposed; and altho he was absent, and there was some reason to fear his austere and inflexible humor, he was notwithstanding unanimously chosen. He was born at *Cibalis* in *Pannonia*.

*Gratian* his Father had raised himself by his virtue above his birth, and of a simple Soldier was become General of the *Roman* Armies. It is reported that he was so strong, that five men could not force out of his hands a Cord, which he held tied fast: It was by that means he came to make himself known to the Emperors. Be it as it will, he fell as suddenly as he was raised; and the same *Constantius* who had loaded him with honors and possessions, deprived him thereof, being much disturbed that he had received in his house the Tyrant *Magnentius*. *Aurel. 14. For.*

*Valentinian* having found the fortune of his Father ruined, was obliged to labor himself to the advancement of his own. He passed through all the degrees of warfare, and acquitted himself of those employments which he had, with so much courage and prudence, that the Soldiers saw him prosper without envy, and were accu-



stomed to say of him, that he deserved much more than was conferred upon him. *Jovian* had made him Captain of his second Troop of Guards, and left him at *Ancyra*, the chief City of *Galatia*, to command there.

It was there they deputed to him, to give him advice of his election. He departed forthwith, and came to the Army the 24<sup>th</sup> of *February*. He would not appear the next day, because 'twas the day of Leap-year, which an ancient superstition made pass for unlucky amongst the *Romans*. The day following, the Army being assembled in the morning, he came to the Camp, and was conducted with ceremony to the Tribunal, which was prepared for him. He was invested with the Purple and the Crown, and proclaimed Emperor in the accustomed forms. After he had enjoyed for some time the pleasure of the military acclamations, he was for making an Oration to the Army: but scarce had he opened his mouth, but there arose a great noise amongst the Troops. Whether it was a Cabal of discontented Officers, or nothing else but a whimsey of the Soldiers, they cried from all parts, he must have a Collegue. It seemed either that they repented of the choice they had made, or that they had a mind to impose Laws upon him, whom they had elected for Master.

*Valentinian* observed this tumult without disorder; and regarding first on one side, then on the other with a severe and threatening behavior, he made a sign with his hand, that he would speak.

## THEODOSIUS *the Great.*

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As soon as there was a silence made, he turn'd himself towards those that had appeared to him the most warm; and after he had called them mutinous and seditious, *Companions*, said he to them, *to give me the Empire was at your Disposah; but since I have received it, it depends upon me to judge of the necessities of the State, and tis your business to obey me.* He pronounced these words with so much assurance, that all the World was silent, and remained in that respect which was due. Then smoothing himself a little, he gave the Army thanks for the honour they had done him, and assured them that he would chuse a Collegue, when it should be convenient; but that he would precipitate nothing in an affair of that importance. He descended from his Tribunal, encircled with Eagles and Colours; and went quite through the Camp, marching fiercely in the midst of a crowd of Officers, who ranked themselves about him, the better to court his favour.

Some days after, whether it was to accommodate himself to the necessity of Affairs, or that he had resolved to satisfy the Troops, or that he had a mind to succeed more dexterously in the design he had to associate his Brother *Valens* to the Empire, he assembled together the chief Officers of the Army, and asked their advice concerning the Choice he was about to make. *Degalaïse*, General of the Horse, answered him with freedom: *If you love but your own Family, my Lord, you have a Brother; If you love the State, chuse one that is able to assist you in the government of it.* *Ammian. lib. 26.* The Emperor was touched at this Answer, but he dissembled his displeasure,

sure, and resolved to do himself by Authority, what the Soldiers would hardly have done by Complaisance.

V. He parted then from *Nicas* in haste, and arrived the first of *March* at *Nicomedia*, where he made *Valens* Great Master of the Horse, and General of the Armies of the Empire. He raised him to these Dignities, in order to dispose him insensibly to ascend to a greater. But being come to *Constantinople*, he kept no longer any measure. He carried his Brother into the Suburbs of the City, and without troubling himself about the consent of the Army, or the forms of Election, he made him to be proclaimed *Augustus*, without having before declared him *Cesar*; which thing had not as yet been practised. He put the Diadem upon his Head, and invested him with the Imperial Robes; and, to conclude the Ceremony, he carried him in the same Chariot along with him. *Valens* had not one quality that might attract him the esteem, or friendship of the People; for besides his swarthy Complexion, his Eyes staring, and something of rude and despicable in all his person, he had an irregular mind, which joined to an insupportable presumption, an extream ignorance: so his Election was no further approved, than as they durst not oppose it. *Valentinian* himself did not dissemble his defects, and held him in so great a dependance, that one would have said he had made him his Lieutenant, and not his Colleague.

VI. The Empire was then in a deplorable condition: it seemed that all the barbarous Nations

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Nations were combined together at the same time, to ransack and destroy all the Provinces of their Neighborhood. The Germans made a horrid waste in Gaul. The Sarmats and the Quades were entred into Pannonia. The Picts Annian. lib. 26. and Saxons disturbed the Peace of England. The Moors made Incursions in Africk. The Goths came to pillage Thrace, even to the very Precincts of Constantinople. The King of Persia renewed his ancient Pretensions upon Armenia, and threatned to break the Peace he had but just concluded with the Romans. It was to be feared too, lest these disorders should continue under two Emperors, whereof one had not sweetness enough to gain the People, the other neither capacity enough, nor resolution, to bring affairs to an end with his Enemies.

VII. The business of Religion was as much embroiled, as that of the Empire. The Reign of Constantius had been a time of continual persecution against the Church. This Prince had spared no endeavors to extirpate the Faith of the Nicæan Council, and to establish the Heresy of Arius. Julian was not content to persecute the Church, he had used all his efforts to destroy it; and after having solemnly abjured the Faith of Jesus Christ, wherein he had lived near twenty years, he undertook to restore the adoration of false Gods, and to renew the Pagan Superstitions. Jovian his Successor being desirous to remedy these disorders, protested to the Soldiers, who chose him Emperor, That he would not accept of the Empire, but upon condition they would all prove Christians like him; and they

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unanimously cryed, *They either were, or did design to be.* A little while after he recalled the exil'd Bishops, and favoured the Catholicks; blaming the rest, but yet referring them to the judgment of their Conscience, without being willing to enter into the bottom of different Ecclesiasticks.

It was believed that *Valentinian* would carry his Piety farther, as well because he was naturally hot, and went to his ends without much conduct; as also, that he had formerly confessed the Faith of Jesus Christ with abundance of zeal. The business was thus; *Julian*, after his Apostasy, went one day to the Temple of Fortune to offer Sacrifices there, according to his usual custom. He was accompanied with a crowd of Courtiers, whereof the greatest part disposed themselves, through Policy, to the Religion of the Prince. *Valentinian* marched behind him in the quality of Captain of his Guards. As they were upon entering the Temple, one of the Ministers of the Sacrifice, whose business was to attend them there, with an intent to purify them, cast water upon them which was consecrated to Idols. The Emperor, and those of his Retinue, received the Ceremony with respect. But *Valentinian* being sensible of some drops of this water upon his left hand, and discerning more upon his cloaths, struck the Man rudely that came to throw it, in presence of the Emperor, then shook his hand, and tore off that part of his garment which had been sprinkled. *Julian*, offended at the injury done to his Gods and him, expelled him his Court, and banished him to *Adelifina* in *Armenia*.

*memia.* His Brother *Valens* followed him, preferring rather to be degraded from his Arms, and to renounce his Fortune, than to act contrary to his Faith.

The remembrance of this bold Confession filled not a few with hopes, that the two Brothers would highly re-establish Religion. But they were deceived herein; for *Valentinian* was more remiss thereupon than could be imagined, and protected the Catholics without disturbing the *Arrians*. *Valens* on the other side so far abandoned himself to the *Arrians*, that he oppressed the Catholics.

Such was the disposition of the Empire, when the two Emperors divided it amongst themselves. *Valentinian* chose the Western Provinces with all *Illyrium*, and left those of the East to his Brother. They came together as far as *Naisse*, where they shared the Armies, and the chief Commanders, and at last parted at *Sirmium*, the one for *Adrian*, the other to return to *Constantinople*.

VIII. *Valentinian* immediately applied himself to examine the condition of those Provinces that lay most exposed to the Insults of *Barbarians*. He passed into *Gaul*, and fought the *Germans*, who had made an Incurſion therein with a great Army. After their defeat, he departed from *Amiens* to go to *Treves*. There he was in hopes to enjoy in peace the advantage of his late Victory, when he received advice from several places, that all *England* was ransack'd and wasted by the Enemy; that the *French* and *Saxons* had made a descent therein on that side nearest

nearest *Gaul*; that the *Picts* and *Scots* made a destruction to the very heart of the Country; that they had killed the Governor, and surprized the General of the Army; and that if things were not suddenly remedied, the Empire would infallibly lose one of its fairest Provinces.

IX. This News astonished the Emperor, and occasioned to him great disturbances. He commanded *Theodosius*, the Father of him whose History we write, to pass into that Island with Troops that were advanced that way, judging him alone capable of restoring to a better state an Affair which appeared desperate. *Theodosius* departed in haste, and took his Son with him, that he might learn the Trade of War. He rendezvouz'd at *Bologne* the Army that was destined for him, and crossing the Sea with an assurance, which seemed to foretel the Event, he advanced towards *London*, and searched for the Enemies to give them Battel. He routed several of their Parties which he found rambling through the Country. He took away their Men, their Cattel, and all the rest of the Booty which they drag'd along, and made a Declaration in all places round about, that every one should come to see and repossess his own, reserving but a little part of the Booty for those Soldiers who were most fatigued. His chiefest care was still to ease the People, and his first Instructions to his Son were Examples of Humanity and Justice; necessary Vertues, but rarely known to Men of War. After these first Successes, he entred *London*, and encouraged the

the City, who already acknowledged him for her Deliverer.

As he had to do with Enemies who dispersed themselves, and rallied at all moments to surprize him; he resolved to baffle them at their own game, and to weaken them by little Skirmishes, being unable to engage them to a Fight. Whereupon he took the Field, possessed himself of advantageous Posts, divided his Army into several Bodies, and falling without delay upon one or t'other of these *Barbarians*, who had their separate Interests, and who came rather with a design to pillage than to fight, he defeated them entirely, and established security in City and Country. In all these Encounters he made appear as much of Valor, as Discretion; and 'tis reported of him, that he never commanded his Soldiers to an Attempt, but he first gave himself for an Example.

*Ammian.  
lib. 28.*

X. *Theodosius* shewed himself a worthy Son of this renowned Captain, and afforded in these first occasions, marks of his future greatness. *Maximus*, by birth an *English-man*, who took a pride in boasting of his Descent from the Race of *Constantine*, served at the same time in the same Army. These two young Men, who were one day to dispute between them the Empire of the World, came to know one another, and signalized themselves by Emulation in this Expedition. They were almost of the same age, their spirits, their courage were alike; and both enjoyed the same great passion to exalt themselves by way of Arms; but they were different as to manners. *Theodosius* was free,



free, courteous, and generous; *Maximus* deceitful, morose, and jealous of the desert and reputation of another. The one was brave by vertue, the other so by fierceness; the one pretended to no more than the glory of serving Emperors, the other would gladly have consented to usurp their place.

XI. Scarce was this War concluded, but a Conspiracy was found of no less danger. The Heads of which were arrested, and condemned to death. But it was not judged convenient to put them to the question, lest there should be too many Accomplices to punish, or their despair should revive those Troubles, which were but just appeased. After which, *Theodosius*, returned to the Court of *Valentinian*, and presented to him his Son, who had been the Companion of his Labours. It was there that this young Lord made himself known to Prince *Gratian*, who, altho' a very Child, was already much inclined to favour Vertue and Desert,

XII. The Joy which was entertained for the happy Success of the *English* Affairs, was soon disturbed, by the News which was received of an Insurrection of a part of *Africk*. *Firmus*, one of the chief Lords of the Country, was Captain of the Rebellion. He was accus'd for having caused the Assassination of one of his Brothers. The *Roman* Governor of the Province had attempted to destroy him; he supported himself by his Friends, and Reputation. They wrote to the Court, the one his Accusations

tions and Complaints, the other his Justifications. *Valentinian* was of a humor severe enough, but there were some convenient moments, when he suffered himself to be easily wrought upon. In the greatest necessities of Affairs he had been careful to ease the People, but not so vigilant upon those, that governed them: and altho' he was, of his own temper, inexorable for the slenderest Faults, yet he would not so much as hear Complaints relating to his Officers; whether it was that he thought to hurt his own Authority by lessening theirs, even when they abused it; or else, that according to his Politicks, it was necessary to treat the People with an extream Rigor.

XIII. This was the occasion of the Revolt of *Firmus*. He had Advice, that they had suppressed his Letters at Court; that those of his Enemy were lookt upon; that the Ministers were won, and the Prince prepossessed. As he saw himself upon the point of being overwhelmed, he had recourse to Arms. He raised the People, that were even impatient at the Violences and Rapines of their Governor, took on himself the Crown, and was proclaimed King. He took the Field forthwith, consumed all that made resistance, surprized the City of *Casarea*, which he abandoned to his Troops, (left Fire and Sword should be omitted) and engross'd his Army with a great number of *Moors*, who came in multitudes to fight under his Banner. *Theodosius* had Orders to depart with his Son in haste, in order to oppose the Rebels. He embarked with the Troops that were

were designed him, and descended upon the Coast of *Africk*. There having met the Governor of the Province, he learnt of him the posture of Affairs; and after having softly reproached him for the Disturbances he had caused, he sent him to give Orders for the security of Places, and to visit the Garrisons. In the mean time he advanced as far as the City of *Satifi*, where he sent to *Firmus* to enjoin him to lay down his Arms, and to return to his Duty, and that he should take his choice either of Peace, or War. Whilst he expected his resolution, he considered how to manage his Troops, who were not accustomed to the heats of those Climats, and to prevent the Tyrant, who was no less formidable by his Artifice and Cunning, than for his Arms and Force.

XIV. *Firmus* was at present uncertain of the Choice he was to make. A little while after he sent Deputies to *Theodosius*, to represent to him, that he had taken up Arms through Necessity, and not through Ambition; that he aimed not at the Empire, but a particular Enemy, who abused the Emperor's Authority; that he had not pretended to revolt, but to defend himself; that he might have Justice done him, or at least his Life preserved, and he would abandon his Resentments, and disband his Army. *Theodosius* promised him his Pardon, if his return was cordial and sincere, and ordered him to send Hostages. In the mean time he visited the Coast, made his Legions assemble, joined to them some Troops of the Country, and commanded all his Officers to observe an exact Dis-

Discipline, saying, That the Roman Soldiers ought not to subsist but upon the Expence of their Enemies; and that they were no better than Rebels, when they incommoded the Citizens: which attracted to him the affection of the People.

*Firmus* was of a Family that was numerous and powerful, by reason of the Lands which it possessed, and by its alliance with the principal Lords amongst the *Moors*. *Mascizal*, and *Masaca* his Brothers, marched with two great Bodies of an Army; and *Cyria* his Sister, a Lady of great courage, assisted them with Men and Money, and raised by her Intrigues all *Mauritania*.

XV. *Theodosius* foreseeing that it would be difficult to oppose so many Forces, if he should give them time to join, advanced by great Journeys towards *Mascizal*, and presented him Battle. The *Moors* accepted of it, and vigorously sustained the first charge of the Legions: but at length they were broken; the Vanguard cut in pieces, and the rest saved themselves in disorder. *Theodosius* made himself Master of the Field, and took some important places for his security, where he made great provisions of Necessaries: and as he went to advance further in the Country, he had advice that *Mascizal* was returning with the *Moors* which he had rallied, and some fresh Troops which he had received. He joined him in a little space of time, fought him, routed his whole Army, and pressed upon him so briskly, that he scarce left him opportunity enough to save himself.

XVI. The



XVI. The Rebels were in a consternation at the loss of these two Battels; and *Firmus* not knowing whom to address himself to, had recourse to some Bishops, whom he entreated to repair to *Theodosius*, and to obtain of him a Pardon for his Rebellion upon any condition whatsoever. These Deputies were received with Honour; and upon the favourable Answer they brought back, *Firmus* himself departed with a small Attendance, and came to the Camp of *Theodosius*, where this General attended him without his Tent. The Legions were under Arms with their Ensigns displayed, and every Soldier at the first noise of the arrival of the Captain of the Rebels, had redoubled his fierceness.

*Firmus* alighted from his Horse, as soon as he perceived *Theodosius*; and approaching him with a profound Respect, he prostrated himself at his Feet to the very ground, and asked him pardon for his offence, his tears in his eyes, sometimes accusing his rashness, sometimes his misfortune, with all the marks of an unfeigned repentance. *Theodosius* received his Submissions but coldly, and after a long Conference which they had together, the Accommodation was concluded. The Conditions were, that *Firmus* should furnish Provisions for the Army; that he should leave some of his Relations for Hostages; that he should release all the Prisoners he had made since the Troubles; that he should restore to the City of *Icosium* the Roman Ensigns, and all that he had taken upon the Subjects of the Empire; and after that he should

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licentiate his Troops, and enter into the Emperor's Favor.

XVII. *Firmus* returned well satisfied, and accomplished in less than two days the greatest part of the Treaty. *Theodosius* seeing such fair dispositions to a Peace, marched towards *Casarea*, to repair the Ruines of that City which had been burnt in the beginning of the Wars. He received in his way a deputation from the *Maciques*, a People of *Africk*, who had unseasonably joined with the Rebels, and came to ask Pardon for their Treason; but his Answer to them was no more, than that he knew how to forgive his Enemies; but that he could not endure Traytors; and for sentg them away with menaces, that he would soon be with them to chastise them. He was just come out of *Casarea*, where he had left the first and second Legion, in order to repair the Fortifications of the place, when he received information that *Firmus* had only disguised his Treachery under appearances of Peace and Submission; that he debauched with Promises and Money the very Troops of the Empire; that a Squadron of Archers had gone over to his Party; and that a Tribune had had the insolence to put his Collar in form of a Diadem upon the head of this Rebel.

XVIII. *Theodosius* resolved to use all the extremities of War against the Traytors. He marched with an incredible diligence towards *Taravia*, where he surprized a party of the revolted Archers, whom he deliver'd to the vengeance of the Soldiers, in order to make them learn to fear what he made them exercise against the culpable. The Tribune was executed, after his hand cut off: the

other Officers were beheaded, and all the rest punished, as they deserved. This irritated General besieged, a few days after, a Fortress where the most seditious of the *Moor*s were retired. He took it by Storm, put the whole Garison to the Sword, and razed the Walls to the very Foundations. He presently turned upon the Coast of *Tangier*, where the *Mariques* were assembled, and after having defeated them several times, he afforded them that Pardon which he had refused before.

**XIX.** At last the heat of War having engaged him in the Enemy's Country further than he imagined, *Cyria*, the Sister of *Firmus*, suddenly caused an Insurrection of the whole Province. All the People put themselves in a posture of Battel, as if the Signal had been given, and marched against the *Romans*. *Theodosius*, who had then but a little Foot, with a Body of 3500 Horse, and who saw this innumerable crowd of Enemies, was some time in suspense, whether he should hazard a Battel, or retire. The shame of yielding to those Enemies so many times overcome, and the fear of disgracing the Arms of the Empire, determined him to fight. But after having considered the condition of Affairs, he judged that it was better to want the obtaining of one Battel, than to lose the advantage of all the rest which he had gained. So he retired, always possessing himself of advantageous Posts, for fear of a surprize; but the Enemies persued him obstinately, cut off all passages, and reduced him to the necessity of exposing himself to an unequal Combat in order to save himself.

**XX.** Ha-

XX. Hazard kept off the danger, for the *Mauriques*, whom he had just subdued, were obliged to furnish him with Troops, and they performed it. Some *Roman* Squadrons advanced before to conduct them to *Theodosius*, not knowing the condition he was in. The *Moorish* Couriers discerned this Succor at a distance, and returned full speed to give the Alarm to their Camp, as if entire Armies were approaching to disengage the General. They that kept the passages abandoned them, and *Theodosius* taking the advantage of the moment, and gaining the Defiles, went to encamp under the City of *Taves*, where he secured his Army in the beginning of the month of *February*; from thence he observed the Enemy, and laboured to disunite them by secret Negotiations, till he might be able to reduce them by force.

XXI. In the mean time he dispatched his Son to the Emperor *Valentinian*, to give him an account of the state of the *African* Troubles, and to procure new Troops, in order to the entire destruction of the rebellious Party. The young *Theodosius* was received at Court with all the consideration that his Fathers Services and his own deserved. *Gratian* was extremely glad to see him again, and from this time he conceived an esteem for him, which was since known to the whole World.

He was a Prince, in whom was scarce accomplished thirteen years, who was already very understanding; and who made great advances in the study of Learning under *Anselmus* his Tutor, one of the finest Geniuses of his Age. He won the affection of the People by his sweet and obliging nature; and it was judged from thence that he



# The LIFE of

would have the good qualities of his Father, without his defects. He had been declared *Augustus* not long since in a conjuncture pressing enough.

*Ammian. l.*  
27.

XXII. *Valentinian* was fallen into a distemper, whereof it was not expected that he would recover. Every one destined him a Successor according to his fancy, as if the Empire had been certainly vacant: The *Gaulish* Officers, that were of credit in the Army, cast their eyes upon *Julian*, first Secretary of State, cruel, and violent. Others made their Intreagues for *Severus*, Collonel of the Foot, who was not a whit more moderate than *Julian*. The Emperor being cured, contrary to all appearance, reflected upon the danger he had run, and resolved to break all these Cabals, to associate his Son to the Empire. He founded the inclinations of the Soldiers; and as he was assured of their intentions, he ordered the Army to assemble in a spacious plain, where he came in Person, with his whole Court. He ascended upon his Tribunal, taking his Son by the hand, whom he had brought expressly for the purpose; and after he had shown him to the Troops, he prayed them to consent to the resolution he had taken to share the Empire with him.

He represented to them that he did not pretend to use his own Rights any further, than as the Army should think them reasonable, and that he would always have more regard to the Interests of the State, than to those of his Family; that he presented to them his Son, that was brought up amongst them, and destined to fight with them for the defence of the Empire; that indeed he was a Child, that had neither strength nor experience, but who appeared so well born, that it was probable

ble he would be no dishonor to them; that he applied himself already to the study of Sciences, and to all sorts of noble Exercises, to the end that he might be pleasing to them, and know how to distinguish persons of merit; that he would soon put him in a condition to march with them under the Standards of the Empire, without fearing the incommodity of Seasons, or the fatigues of War; that he would recommend to him above all things the observance of the publick good, as his own, and to prefer the State above his Family.

At these words, the Soldiers, transported with joy, interrupted him, and strove who should be loudest in proclaiming *Gratian, Augustus*, by clattering of Arms, and sound of Trumpets. The Emperor encouraged by these Acclamations invested his Son with the Imperial Habits, then he kissed him, and with a gravity mixed with joy and tenderness, 'Behold your self, My Son, said he to him, invested with the Purple of Emperors. I was desirous of doing you this favour, and our Companions, whom you see here present, have agreed thereto. Endeavor to make your self able to ease and assist your Father, and your Uncle, whose Colleague you commence, from this time: Dispose your self to remain under Arms with the patience of a simple Soldier; and to pass over the *Danube* and *Rhine* frozen, at the head of the Foot: spare not, if 'tis convenient, your blood and life for the People whom you govern: Esteem nothing below you that has any reference to the safety or glory of the Empire. This is the principal Advice I can give you here. The greatest employment of my Reign hereafter, shall be to instruct you how to reign. Then turning himself towards the Troops,

‘ As for you, said he, support the Honor of the  
 ‘ Empire by your Arms, continue to assist us in  
 ‘ our Wars; and preserve to this young Emperor,  
 ‘ whom I refer to your cares and affection, an  
 ‘ inviolable fidelity.

Thereupon arose another mighty Shout: *Enphraxus* Secretary of State cried out, that *Valentinian* and his Son deserved yet more. The whole Army renewed their Acclamations, and every one pressed forward to view this August Youth at a nearer distance: whose Eyes were lively and sparkling, his Face agreeable, his Behavior sweet and noble; and a certain modest Majesty, without Pride, drew him the Love and Admiration of all that beheld him. This Prince, from this time, was the Delight of the People, and his Vertues encreased with his Age.

XXIII. *Valentinian* was then upon the point of entering *Germany* with a puissant Army, to tame that wild and troublesome Nation, that always kept the Frontiers of the Empire in alarm. His Son he took with him, and carried him beyond the *Rhine* in the Enemies Country, to accustom him betimes to the fatigues and even dangers of War. This Expedition was an important one, the Emperor undertook it of himself, and went there to command in person. Wherefore he made choice of his best Troops, and all his Officers of Reputation in the Empire. He ordered the young *Theodosius* to follow him, and observed in him so much Valor and Prudence in the divers Events of this War, that he judged him capable of commanding the Armies in chief, and resolved to employ him. The sudden irruption of the *Quades* soon furnished him with an occasion, to the great  
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satisfaction of *Gratian*, who already interested himself much in the fortune of *Theodosius*.

The Emperor *Valentinian*, who loved glory, and was always meditating upon some great design, that might tend to his Honor, and the Advantage of the Public, attempted to make a Causeway be continued from the Springs of the *Rhine*, to its very mouth in the Sea. He made himself a draught of the Forts he would have erected on both sides of the River, according to the disposition of the places; and having perceived that the Waters insensibly ruined a Fortress which he had built upon the *Neckar*, he turned the Course of the River by a Channel which he caused to be made, by force of Labour and Silver: He had a mind to fortify the Banks of the *Danube*, like those of the *Rhine*, to serve as two Barriers to oppose the barbarous Nations, and to render the Empire inaccessible to them. He sent Orders to *Equitius*, who commanded in *Illyrium*, to pass into the Country of the *Quades*, and there to erect a Cittadel, where he might hold a considerable Garrison.

XXIV. The *Quades* lived peaceably then under their King in *Moravia*; and as they had no design to usurp the Lands of their Neighbors, they thought themselves under no necessity to mind their own. It was formerly a puissant, and warlike People; but they had degenerated from their ancient Valor, and languished for some time in a Laziness, which rendred them almost despicable. *Equitius* preparing himself to execute the Orders of the Emperor, the *Quades* remonstrated to him softly the injury that was done to them, and sent Deputies to Court for to complain. *Equitius* during the time an answer was expected, gave



Orders for the works to cease, for fear of exciting Disturbances: but *Maximin*, a man cruel and active, accused him of Negligence and Cowardise, and charged himself with the Commission. He went upon the place, and ordered the continuance of the Forts which were begun, without asking the consent of the *Barbarians*, which they would undoubtedly have granted, rather than have brought a war upon themselves. *Gabinus* their King went to find him, and represented to him modestly, that it was an insult committed upon them without reason; that it was but just to let a peaceable Nation live in Peace; that disturbed not that of others; that they had no longer the Ambition of Conquest, but that still there remained with them that of being Masters in their own Country; that they left the Grandeur and Glory of subduing the World, to those who were spurred on thereto; that as for them, they esteemed themselves happy enough in their freedom; In a word, that they asked no Favor, but begg'd that they might have no Injustice done them.

*Maximin* made an appearance of being affected with the reasons of this Prince; and for a testimony of his Friendship, invited him with some of his Retinue to a great Feast, where he caused him to be inhumanly murdered. The People, after having lamented for some time the death of their King, took up Arms to revenge it. Despair was to them in the place of Courage; and the *Sarmats*, being joyned to them, they passed the *Danube* together, and dispersed themselves in the Country, burning the Villages, and destroying all they met in their way. The Princess *Constantia*, Daughter of the Emperor *Constantius*, who had been betrothed to *Gratian*, was coming then from the

the Eastern Court, to that of the West, and was taking some refreshment at a Country House. Her Train was pillaged, some of her Servants taken, and she herself had fallen into the hands of these *Barbarians*, if *Messala*, who had been sent to receive her, had not clapt her into a Chariot they met by accident, and brought her full speed to *Sirmium*.

*Probus* the *Præfectus Pretorio*, a fearful man, and little used to War, was in the City, and prepared his Horses to make his escape in the night. They endeavoured to make him understand, that the Danger was not so great as he imagined, that his flight would discourage the Citizens, and that he would answer for all the mischances, that should happen to the Princess. At last, he recovered himself a little from his fright, and gave orders to repair the Fortifications forthwith, and to get dispatched from the Neighboring Garrisons some Companies of Archers, to defend the place in case of a Siege.

The Enemies were contented to keep the Field. There was sent against them two of the best Legions of the Empire, who would, undoubtedly, have given them a defeat: but they fell out about Pretensions, and Disputes of Preference; and the *Sarmats* having forced them separately into their quarters, cut them in pieces one after another. The young *Theodosius* was sent to stop the course of these disorders; and that he might act with more Authority, he was advanced to the Government of *Moesia*, and the command of the Troops of that Province.

XXV. He parted without delay; and after having observed the posture of affairs, he assembled

bled a considerable body of an Army. His first application was to establish an exact Discipline amongst his Troops, and to chase out of the Country a remainder of rambling and disbanded *Barbarians*, who pillaged it with Impunity. He put some to death, and contented himself with having expelled the rest out of the Limits of the Empire. After which, having information, that the *Sarmats* appeared upon the Frontier, and that their Army was enlarged by a multitude of People in League with them, he resolved not only to oppose their Passage, but likewise to draw them to a fight. The Enemies, who confided in their numbers, divided themselves into several bodies, to make irruptions through divers places: But *Theodosius* beat them in every encounter; and after having obliged them to re-unite themselves, he went to attack them in their very Camp. Notwithstanding the opposition they immediately made, he forced them, and made so great a slaughter, that they entreated him for a Peace, upon such conditions as he thought fit to impose, and durst not infringe it, so long as he continued in this Province.

XXVI. Whilst *Theodosius* the Son served the Empire so successfully in *Asia*, the Father was employed in the Reduction of the revolted *Moors* in *Africa*. He had already disingaged a great number from the Interests of *Firmus*, some by Menaces, and some by Promises and Rewards. *Firmus*, who perceived some alteration, fearing on one side to be abandoned, and on the other vexed to entertain so many Troops at his own expence, went out of his Camp by night, and saved himself in the Mountains. As soon as *Theodosius* had advice,

vice, that this Army without a Captain was divided, and retreated in disorder, he took the field, defeated one part of them, and obliged the rest to lay down their Arms. This multitude of enemies being thus dispersed, he put in the Cities Governours of an assured fidelity, and pursued *Firmus* to the Mountains.

XXVII. Scarce was he entred therein, but he was informed, that the Captain of the Rebels was fled to the *Isastians*, and that he was assured of their protection. *Theodosius* turned his course on that side, after he had refreshed his Troops, and summoned the people to deliver up to him to *Firmus*, *Maxima* his Brother, and the Chief Officers that were with him. As they refused to do it, he declared War against them, and begun it by a battle, wherein they were defeated, *Maxima* mortally hurt, and *Firmus* put to flight with the remainder of his Troops. It was then *Igmar*, King of the *Isastians*, assembled all his Forces, and marched against the *Romans*, who were already far advanced into his Dominions. He went himself to meet *Theodosius* with a small attendance, and being come to him, he asked him who he was? and why he came to disturb the peace of a King, who had an independent power, and was answerable for his actions to no one, but himself? *Theodosius* replied, That he was one of the Lieutenants of *Valentinian*, the Emperor, and Master of the World; that he was come to chastise a Rebel; and that if he was not delivered into his hands, he had orders to destroy as well Kings, as People, that should be so unjust as to protect him.



*Igmazen* retired stung with this Answer, and the next morning betimes presented himself in Bat-tel-Aray at the head of 20000 Men. He had left hard by a Body of Reserve, and hid behind his Battalions some auxiliary Troops, who were to break out in round Bodies, in order to encompass the *Romans*, who were in little number. *Theodosius* on his side put his Troops in order, laid before them their past Victories, and encouraged them so well, that they fought an entire day without their Ranks being disordered. Towards evening *Firmus* appeared upon an Ascent, covered with a rich Vesture of Scarlet, and cryed out to the tired Soldiers, *That they would be certainly overwhelmed by number, and that they must expect no quarter, if they delivered not up their General to the King Igmazen.* This discourse encouraged some to fight more fiercely, and so disturbed others, that they abandoned their Ranks.

XXIX. The Night having put an end to the Engagement, *Theodosius* retired with little loss of his side, and severely punished all those Soldiers whom the threats of *Firmus* had discouraged. A little while after having reinforced his Army, he renewed the War, and defeated in several Encounters the best Troops of the *Isafilians*. *Igmazen* vexed that he should be so often overcome, and observing that he had to do with a cautious and successful Captain, who would at last overwhelm him and his Dominions, began to consider how to live in peace. He sent him secret advice, that he was at no Controversy with the Empire, and that he would abandon to him *Firmus* and all the Rebels; but that his People were gained, and himself no more their Master; that the only means to

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fix them to their duty, was to afford them no respite, and to reduce them to consider their own proper safety, rather than the defence of a Stranger; that it was necessary for the Inconveniencies which they received to be much greater than the Advantages they were promised, and that *Theodosius* should make himself more formidable, than *Firmus* had made himself beloved.

XXX. *Theodosius* made use of this advice, and omitted no occasion to fatigue the *Isafrans*, sometimes defeating them in Parties, sometimes forcing them from their quarters, burning their Cities and Towns, and ravaging the whole Countrey. *Igmazen* abandoned them to their evil Counsels, and made their Losses appear to them more considerable than they really were. They found themselves at length so weak and tired, that they began to look to themselves. *Firmus* observed this coldness, and mistrusting the King, upon some Conferences he had with *Masilla* Prince of the *Maziques*, he had a desire to flee once more to the Mountains. Then *Igmazen* discovered himself, and stopt him. The Rebel seeing himself enclosed, and guarded at a distance, resolved to prevent his punishment by a voluntary death. He made his Guards drunk in the Night, and as they were asleep, he arose, and finding by chance under his hand a Cord proper for the design he entertained, he strangled himself in a corner of the Chamber.

XXXI. *Igmazen*, who was to have conducted him the next day to the Camp of *Theodosius*, was sensibly displeased at this Accident. He attested the publick Faith, brought *Masilla* for a Witness  
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of this misfortune, and charged the Body of this Wretch upon a Camel, which he went to present himself to *Theodosius*, as a pledge of the friendship and affection which he had for the Empire. *Theodosius* made the Body be acknowledged by the People of the Countrey, and by some Prisoners, who all swore that it was the Body of *Firmus*. Then he made great Caresses to the King, and a few days after he took the Road of *Sitifi*, and was received in Triumph in all the Cities where he passed. He hoped that he should be called to Court after so long and fortunate an Expedition; but he had Orders to remain in *Africk*, and to fix entirely the Affairs of that Province, which the avarice of the Governors, and the cruelty of the Rebels had almost brought to Ruine.

XXXII. In the mean time the Emperor *Valentinian* made great preparations for War; and departed from *Troves* in the beginning of the Spring to go into *Illyrium* in all haste. All the adjoining Nations were startled, and sent Embassadors to him upon his way, humbly to sue for Peace. His answer was no more, than that he came to chastise them, if they were culpable, and that he would judge of that when he came upon the place. Every one thought, that he came to punish the Assassin of the King of the *Quades*, or the disorders that were excited in the Provinces, at which the Governors were alarmed. Notwithstanding he used towards them his usual Policy, and gave them not so much as a Reprimand. He passed almost the whole Summer, at *Carnunte* in *Pannonia*, in gathering his Troops, and supplying his Magazines: and of a sudden having laid a Bridge over the *Danube*, entered into the Country of the *Quades* with

with his Army, being resolved to exterminate them for their last irruption.

Altho this Nation, poor and fearful, was not in a condition to defend it self, they put all to Fire and Sword that they could meet with, both in City and Country, without distinction of Age or Sex. The greatest part of the Inhabitants saved themselves in the Mountains, being amazed to see amongst them *Roman* Eagles, and an Emperor in person; and regarding at a distance their Cities smoaking, and their Habitations reduced to Ashes, they lamented the Destruction of their Neighbors, and the Desolation of their Country. *Valentinian* a few days after changed his mind; and whither it was that he wanted provisions, or that the season was too far advanced; or whether he was ashamed to insult over a People, that was more unfortunate than culpable, who could make no resistance, he repassed the *Danube*, and put his Army into Winter Quarters.

XXXIII. The *Quades* returned a little from their fears, and made choice of the most qualified amongst them to go and ask the Emperors pardon, with assurances to serve him upon what conditions he would be pleased to impose on them. These Deputies arrived at *Bergitcon*, a little Castle in *Pannonia*, where *Valentinian* was retired. There they obtained at last an Audience, where they were introduced by *Equitius*; and falling at the feet of the Emperor, they continued there for some time without rising, seized with respect and fear; then they most humbly entreated him in the behalf of all the Nation to pardon them, and to afford them Peace. *Valentinian*, surprized at the Poverty and ill looks of these Embassadors, cried



cried out that he was very unhappy in having to treat with such a sort of People; and reproached them with their insolence and perfidiousness. As they cast themselves upon frivolous excuses, he fell into a passion, and spoke to them with so much vehemence, that he broke a vein, and fell half-dead amongst his Officers, the Blood issuing out of his Mouth. He died some hours after in Convulsions, upon the seventeenth day of *November*, in the Fifty fifth year of his Age, and the twelfth of his Reign.

*Annian.*

*l. 3.*

*Zor. l. 4.*

XXXIV. Every one reasoned upon this death according to his fancy; some observed that a Comet had appeared a little before; that a Thunderbolt had fallen upon the Palace; that a great Owl had perch'd upon the top of the Imperial Baths, from whence they could not chase it away; that the Emperor had seen the Empress in a Dream with a mourning habit, and going out that morning, with more sadness in his looks than was usual, with an intent to get on Horseback, the Horse fell a prancing against his Custom. The wiser sort, instead of those vain and ridiculous observations, remarked that he died as he lived, in trouble and agitation; that he was a severe Judge, rather than a good Master; that of all the Emperors, there was none but him that had passed his Reign without signing one Pardon; that one would have said, he punished more out of Peevishness than Justice; that there was a little avarice in this severity, and that confiscations too often followed the condemnation of Criminals; that he made War in fury, and never went to engage the Enemy, but he had a design to exterminate them; and that by a just judgment of God,

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# THEODOSIUS *the Great.*

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his anger, which had occasioned so many deaths, was at last the cause of his own.

Many said in his favor, that he had endeavoured to overcome his temper, but could not; that this excessive severity was not becoming an Emperor, but had been very useful to the Empire; that in ordering the first Eunuch of the Palace to be burnt alive for having injured a Widow, he had thereby saved all Widows and Orphans from oppression; that as to the rest, he enjoyed more Vertues than Defects; that he had spared the goods of the People, lessened the Taxes, regulated the Soldiers, trained up excellent Officers, fortified the Frontier Places, and obtained battels by his Lieutenants, and by himself; that he had led a life pure and irreproachable, banished from his Court Corruption and Debauchery, as well by his Edicts, as his own Example, and shewed in all his conduct Spirit, Courage, Politeness and Grandeur.

*Ammian.*  
l. 20.

The Zealots for Religion blamed him, for having espoused *Iustino*, an *Arrian*; for suffering himself to be carried over to the Principles of *Auxentius* Archbishop of *Milan*, who made an appearance of being a Catholic; and above all for having permitted every one to live according to his Belief, and for not concerning himself, under the pretext of a Layman, in the differences of the Church. Others alledged on the contrary side, that this was necessary policy, that *Jovian* had used the same before him; and that it was much better to perswade men to truth by sweetness, than to draw them to it by open force. They agreed notwithstanding, that this Prince had always retained the Faith of the Church in its Purity; that he was at variance thereupon with his Brother *Valence*, so far as to refuse him succor  
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against

*Socran. l.*  
6. c. 6. &  
7.

*Socrat. l.*  
4. c. 6.

Theod. l. 4.  
c. 31.

against the *Barbarians*, as an Enemy to God, whom it was his Duty to abandon; and that he begg'd Saint *Ambrose* to reprehend him, if he was wanting either in Piety, or the Doctrine of the Church.

Theod. l. 4.  
c. 6 & 7.

XXXV. It will not be improper to give a relation here of the part *Valentinian* had in the ordination of this Archbishop, of whom we shall so frequently speak in the course of this History. *Auxentius* the *Arrian* being dead, after having held for several years the See of *Milan*, *Valentinian* desired the Bishops to assemble in order to elect a new Pastor. He advised them to chuse a man of a profound knowledge, and irreproachable life, 'To the end that, said he, the Imperial City may be sanctified by his instructions and examples, and that the Emperors, who are Masters of the World, and cease not to be great Sinners, may receive his advice with confidence, and his corrections with respect. The Bishops prayed him to nominate himself such a one as he desired; but he answered to them, that it was an affair beyond his capacity, and that he had neither wisdom, nor piety sufficient to be concerned therein; that this choice belonged to them, because they had a perfect knowledge of the Laws of the Church, and were filled with the lights of the Spirit of God.

Socrat. l. 4.  
c. 30.

The Bishops upon this assemble with the rest of the Clergy to proceed to an Election, and the People whose agreement was required, were called thereto. The *Arrians* named a person of their Sect, the *Catholicks* were for one of their Communion. The two Parties grew hot, and the Dispute was turning to a Sedition, and an open War. *Ambrose* Governor of the Province, and City, a man

man of sense and probity, was advertised of this disorder, and went to the Church to appease it. His presence made all the controversies cease, and the Assembly being re-united on a sudden, as by a divine inspiration, demanded *Ambrose* for their Pastor. This thought appeared to him fantastical; but as they persisted to demand him, he remonstrated to the Assembly that he had always lived in secular employments, and that he was not yet so much as baptized; that the Laws of the Empire forbid those, who are exercent in public charges, to enter in the Clergy without permission of the Emperors; and that the choice of a Bishop ought to be made by an inspiration of the Holy Ghost, not by a popular fancy. Notwithstanding all his reasons, and his resistance, the People would conduct him to the Episcopal Throne, to which God had designed him; he was ordered Guards for fear he should escape, and a Request presented to the Emperor to beg his consent to this Election.

*Paulin. in  
vita Ambr.*

The Emperor most willingly agreed to it, and gave Orders that he should be forthwith baptized, and consecrated 8 days after. It is reported that this Prince would himself assist at his Consecration, and that at the end of the Ceremony lifting up his Eyes and Hands to Heaven, he cried out transported with Joy; I render thanks to thee, O God, in that thou hast confirmed my choice by thine, in committing our Souls to him, to whom I had appointed the Government of this Province. The holy Arch-Bishop applied himself entirely to the study of the Sacred Scriptures, and the establishment of Faith and Discipline within his Diocese. Having observed the commission of some abuses by the Magistrates under the Emperor's Authori-

*Theod. l. 4.  
c. 7.*



ty, he went to find him in his Palace, and remonstrated to him the zeal he ought to have for the Service of God, and the observation of Justice.

This Prince replied to him wisely, that he received his advice in good part; that he knew him him of a long time for an upright Man and incapable of dissimulation, or flattery; that in accepting of him for his Bishop, he had well foreseen, that he chose to himself a Judge incorruptible in his life; that he had not ceased to confirm his Election, judging that one could not give too much Authority to a good Man; that he might use then his ordinary liberty; that he might reprove by a holy severity the irregularities of the Court; and that he should not fear to advertise even him of his mistakes, and to apply those remedies which he should judge convenient according to his Prudence, and the Maxims of the Law of God.

The holy Arch-bishop supported by the Emperors power, laboured to exterminate the Errors, which his Predecessor *Auxentius* had sowed in the Imperial City: all the Church expected much from this protection, but this Prince died a little while after, as we have already said. His body was carried to *Constantinople*, and laid in the Sepulchre of the great *Constantine* with the usual Solemnities.

XXXVI. *Gratian*, the eldest Son of *Valentinian*, and of *Severa* his first Wife, had been associated to the Empire about seven years before, and was then at *Treves*, where his Father had left him. The young *Valentinian*, Son of the second bed, between eight and nine years old, was coming forward with the Empress *Justine* his Mother; and

as he was not far from the Army, the chief Officers conspired together to create him Emperor. *Cerealis* his Uncle managed all the Intreigue with Dexterity, and presently obtained *Merobades*, who commanded the Infantry. They cut off the bridges, and guarded all the passages which led to the Quarters of the *Gauls*, Troops that were mutinous and disaffected. All that were suspected to them had orders to march, before they understood any thing of the Emperors death. They took care to remove in particular the Count *Sebastian*, a firm and peaceable man, but too much beloved of the Soldiers in such an occasion. After having thus disposed all things, *Cerealis* went to seek his Nephew, and made him to be declared *Augustus* six days after his Fathers death.

They that were concerned in this Election, wrote to *Gratian*, that the Enemies having retaken courage since the death of his Father, the Army wanted the presence of an Emperor; and that they had been constrained to elect the Prince *Valentinian*, before stirring spirits could have time to take other measures; that they begg'd his Majesty to excuse them, if they had not staid for his consent; and to pardon them a fault, which they had not committed but for the good of the State, and the interest of his Family. *Gratian* being offended at their proceedings, was upon the point of being severe with some: but he was appeased almost at the same time, and confirming the Election of this young Prince, he not only accepted of him for a Colleague, but would also be to him instead of a Father. He contented himself with the Provinces which are on this side the *Alps*, and left him *Italy*, *Africk*, and *Illyrium* to govern.

Zoz. l. 4.

XXXVII. The death of *Theodosius* the Father, and the disgrace of his Son arrived in this time, by the jealousy of the Ministers of the Empire, and the Intrigues of the Emperor *Valens*, who could not endure those whom he thought worthy to succeed him. This hatred was founded upon Predictions and Horoscopes which he thought inevitable, and yet would endeavour to avoid them.

He was a Prince who had many defects, and whose good qualities were extinguished by the bad. Sometimes he took Resolutions good enough, but he often wanted the force or capacity to execute them. He stopt the Ambition and Insolence of the Grandees, but it was almost always in their oppression. He might have enjoyed the glory of being a good Friend, if he had known how to chuse his friendships. He did not charge the Provinces with Taxes, but he ruined the best houses of the Empire, and would regain upon the confiscations of particulars, what he lost in lessening the publick Imposts. As soon as any one was accused before him to be rich, 'twas sufficient to prove him guilty; and without putting himself to the trouble of discerning truth from falshood, he never ceased to punish when it would prove to his advantage. He was always ready to give long Audiences to Flatterers, and was tired when they began to justify themselves; which gave occasion for Oppressions and Calumnies.

XXXVIII. There had been divers Attempts made against him since his Reign, which made him fearful and suspicious. Some corrupted Courtiers made their advantage by this infirmity of the Emperor,

peror, and persuaded him at every turn, that he incurr'd some great danger; some to get themselves esteemed, and to render themselves necessary; others to get rid of their Enemies without punishment, by accusing them of disaffection to the Prince. All the Intrigues of Court rowled upon none but false Reports, and imaginary Attempts. Matters were come to that point, that it was a Crime to explicate a Prediction, or to speak of the Successor of *Valens*; this easiness to believe and fear all things, was the occasion of the loss of several great Men, and particularly that of old *Theodosius*.

*Palladius*, a Man of an inferior birth, and much given to Magick, having been arrested as an Accomplice of some Lords at Court, who were accused for robbing the Exchequer, was put into the hands of *Modestus Præfectus Prætorio*. He was examined, and would discover nothing. He was put to the Rack, which he soon endured with constancy enough; but when he found himself still pressed with Torments, he cryed out that he had things to tell of more importance than those he was examined for, and which had relation to the person of the Prince. He was permitted to recover his breath, and as he was encouraged to speak, he declared that there had been lately held a secret Cabal, wherein by Witchcrafts and detestable Presages, they had learnt the Destiny of the Emperor, and the Name of him who was to succeed him in the Empire. He went so far as to name those who were assistant in it; they were arrested upon the spot, and durst not deny a thing, whose circumstances were already known.

*Ammian.  
lib. 29.*

XXXIX. It was an Intrigue of some persons  
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Sozom. l. 6.

c. 34.

Zoz. l. 4.

of Quality, and several *Pagan* Philosophers, who were associated to know what should happen after the Emperor's death. The Aversion which they had for the Christian Religion, and the desire of seeing theirs established, gave them this Curiosity. They were in hopes the Oracle would name some of their Party; they had already before-hand cast their eyes upon *Theodorus*, one of the Secretaries of *Valens*, of a very noble Family amongst the *Gauls*, esteemed for his Probity, his Parts and Courage, who lived in the quality of a mighty Lord, and in a tumultuous Court was beloved of all the World, besides that he kept up in his actions and discourses a generous liberty. These great qualities made him to be lookt upon as a person capable of restoring the worship of the Gods, to which he was very much disposed.

These Philosophers being possessed by this thought, assembled privately together in one of their houses. There they made a Trivet of Laurel Branches resembling that of *Delphos*, and consecrated it with Imprecations, and extraordinary Ceremonies. They put over it a Bason composed of different metals, about which they ranked the four and twenty Letters of the Alphabet at an equal distance. The most expert Magician of the Company, being covered with a linnen cloth, and bearing in his hands some Vervein, went forward, and began his Invocations, bowing his head sometimes on one side, then on the other. At last he stopt short, holding upon the Bason a Ring tyed to a Filer. As he made an end of murmuring his magick words, it is reported that the Trivet was suddenly observed to move the Ring to leap and agitate insensibly, and at length to fall here and there upon those Letters it seemed to have

Ammian.

lib. 29.

Zoz. l. 4.

have chosen. These Letters being thus touched, left their places, and went successively to rank themselves upon the Table; one would have said that an invisible hand had thus collected them together: they composed Answers in heroick Verses, which all the Assistants diligently remarked.

XL. The first thing that the Oracle informed them, was that their Curiosity should cost them all their Lives, and that the Emperor should soon after die at *Mimas* of a horrible kind of death: then they were for knowing the Name of his Successor. The enchanted Ring continuing to jump upon the Letters, collected these two Syllables *Theo*: the *d* came presently to join them. Whereupon one of the Assistants interrupted the Charm, and cryed out, *That their wishes were accomplished, and that it was the Orders of Destiny that Theodorus should reign after Valens.* They asked no further; and without considering the misfortune that the Oracle had foretold them, as 'tis natural to believe easily what one wishes to come to pass, they all expected the accomplishment of the destiny of *Theodorus*.

XLI. As soon as the Affair had been thus discovered at *Antioch*, *Valens* knowing that *Theodorus* was at *Constantinople* for some domestick Affairs, sent Guards thither to take him, and to bring him safe: which was done. He was examined, and he replied that he had no share in this Intrigue; that since he came to know it, he had a design to reveal it to the Emperor, but that he was assured it was nothing else but a Philosophical Curiosity; that it was a hideous Crime to attempt the usurpation

pation of the Empire, but that it was lawful to expect from Destiny, whose Orders were inevitable; that as for him, he had neither enterprized, nor depended any thing thereupon. Letters were produced to him, by which he was convicted of having flattered himself with the Prediction, and consulted his Friend about the time, and means of putting it into execution.

XLII. The Emperor caused his Head to be taken off, and commanded an enquiry after all his Accomplices, and to exterminate all the Philosophers that since the Empire of *Julian* made open profession of Magick. It was represented to him, that all the Prisons were already full of persons convicted, or suspect, and that some favour would be most just in the number: but he was offended with this Remonstrance, and gave Orders for all to be put to death indifferently without other form of Process. This cruel Sentence was executed, the Innocents were confounded with the Guilty, some perished by the Sword, others by Fire, many were torn in pieces by the Rack; above all, they burned the Magicians with their Books, and no one durst appear in a Gown throughout all *Asia*, lest the resemblance of the Habit should make them go for Philosophers. There was nothing to be seen in *Antioch* but Blood diffused, Houses consumed, and Fires kindled; which rendred the Emperor so odious, that they made throughout the City this publick Imprecation against him, *That Valens might himself one day be burnt alive.*

*Amian. l.*  
31.

That which was most deplorable herein, was, that they made a sovereign judgment upon simple Suspicions, without entring into any manner of dis-

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discuffion. A Lady was condemned to dye, for boasting that ſhe was recoved of a Quartan Ague *Amnian.* by pronouncing certain words. The Eſtate of a *l. 29.* Great Lord was confiscated, for having got the Nativity of one of his Children calculated. A Rich Burgeſs was executed, becauſe there was found amongſt his papers the figure of one of his Brothers, named *Valence*. A young man was put to death, for having affirmed himſelf to be cured of a diſtemper in the Bath, by carrying his Fingers one after another to his Stomach, and naming the vowels ſo many times.

XLIII. As great paſſions are not only criminal, but alſo ridiculous : *Valens* imagined to himſelf, that he could deſtroy this fatal Emperor, which the Oracle had expreſſed but by halves ; not thinking that there is a Divine Providence, that laughs at humane fore-ſights, and that a Tyrant never killed his Succeſſor. He attempted to deſtroy all Perſons of Quality, whoſe names began by the two ſyllables ſuſpected, and made ſo exact an *Sozom. l. 6.* enquiry, that many to preſerve themſelves, were *c. 26.* obliged to quit their names, and to take others not ſo dangerous,

XLIV. The *THEODOSIUS*'s had acquired too much reputation to eſcape the perſecutions of a Prince, ſo cruel and ſuſpicious. *Theodoſius* the Father was ſtill in *Africa*, where *Valentinian* had eſteemed him neceſſary for the repoſe of the Province. After he had extinguished the fire of Rebellion, he had informed the Court of the miſery of the People, and made high complaints of the *Roman* Count, who had conſumed them by his avarice and inhumane dealings. He had  
rigo-



rigorously punished some of his Accomplices, and feared not to publish the intelligences of this Governor with some interess'd Ministers, who made an advantage of his concussions, and protected him near the Emperor. This firmness of *Theodosius* had procured him the hatred of those powerful men, who stuck close to the Prince after having abused him, and who affording themselves the freedom of committing things unjust, would debar others of that of discovering them, and making complaints.

The Emperor *Valens* was contented to entertain these enmities under-hand, without daring to attempt any thing in the life time of *Valentinian*; but after his death, he kept no measures any longer, and took the same ascendant over his Nephews, that his Brother had formerly taken over him. He gained the Ministers of *Gratian*, already prepossessed by their Jealousies. He joyned with the Empress *Justine*, an *Arrian*, as violent as himself, and made so good a use of the favourable conjuncture of these new Reigns, that mixing the Interests of the State with those of Religion, and the Passions of others with his own, he brought *Theodosius* to his trial. He was arrested in *Carthage*; and whether he was accused for intending to make himself Master of *Africk*, or had other crimes supposed against him, he was condemned to die in those very places, where he had triumphed a little before.

XLV. *Theodosius* seeing himself oppressed by envy, employed the remaining part of his time in thoughts of his Salvation. He received Baptism, which through the evil custom of that time he had deferred, and died innocent before God, as he had

## THE ODOSIUS *the Great.*

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had lived without reproach, and with Glory before men. His Son was still in *Mæſia*, where he commanded the Army, beloved of the People, esteemed of the Soldiers, and dreaded of the Enemies of the Empire. As he was no less to be feared for his vertues than his Father, he would infallibly have run the same fortune with him; but he quitted all his employments, and fled forthwith into *Spain*, where he sheltered himself from the persecution of *Valens*, who upon the subject of suspicions, was not of a humor to leave a crime imperfect. Altho the Emperor *Gratian* was at an age to apply himself to business, and was acquainted with the disgrace of *Theodosius*, whose deserts he knew, he left him in his Exile; and whether it was that he feared to displease his Uncle, or that he had not the force to express the passions of his Ministers, or else that things were concealed from his knowledge; and he would not put himself to the trouble of examining them himself, he abandoned the two greatest Captains of the Empire to the oppression and violence of their Enemies. Thus the best Princes, by a soft Policy, or criminal Laziness, become oftentimes as dangerous as the bad.

*Oros. l. 7.  
c. 33.*

*Ambros. in  
ſun. Theod.*

XLVI. *Theodosius* passed some years in *Spain*, using this exile as a time of repose, and living obscurely with some of his Relations and Friends, till such time as the affairs of the Empire were embroiled in such a manner, that they were reduced to run to him, as the only man capable to establish them. I think my self obliged to recite here a little at large all these troubles, as well to give an account of the state of the Eastern Empire, and make the course of this History the more intelligible,

ligible, as to shew the methods which God made use of to chastise the Emperor *Valens*, and to fix *Theodosius* in his place.

XLVII. Of all those barbarous people, that went out in multitudes from the Northern parts, and drove one another to the very banks of the *Danube* and the *Rhine*, there was none more formidable to the *Roman* Empire than the *Goths*. They inhabited originally a part of that wild and barren Country, which lies between the Northern Ocean and the *Baltick* Sea. Being weary of a place so unfruitful, and pushed on by their natural fierceness, they descended as far as the adjacent parts of the River *Vistule*, above three hundred years before the birth of Jesus Christ. There being encreased by a crowd of *Vandals* whom they had subdued, and finding themselves too much straitned, they extending their limits upon the Neighbouring States, and advanced since as far as the *Palus Meotia*, under the conduct of King *Filimer*, forcing all they encountered in their passage. The resistance which they found in this place constrained them to turn their course to another side, and to pass at length after many windings into the Country of the *Dacians* and *Getas*, where they remained some time in peace. The correspondence which they had there with people, that were more human and polite than they, having made them lose a little of their grossness, they imposed Laws upon themselves, and divided into two Nations under Commanders worthy to govern them. They that possessed the most Eastern parts were called *Ostrogoths*, or Eastern *Goths*, and acknowledged for their Kings the Princes of the Royal Family of the

*Amalæ*:

*Amal.* They that inhabited towards the West took the name of *Visigoths*, or *Western Goths*, and disposed themselves under the Princes of the ancient Race of the *Baltes*.

These *Barbarians*, who were then no otherwise separated from the Provinces of the Empire than by the *Danube*, made oftentimes irruptions into *Thrace*, *Illyrium*, and *Pannonia*; notwithstanding as they made War in disorder, they were almost always beaten, and made no progress. But after they had been a long time either *Enemies*, or *Allies* to the Emperors, they accustomed themselves to Discipline, and by serving the *Romans* they learnt to conquer them.

Division being introduced amongst them under the Empire of *Valens*; they came to an open War, there hapned a bloody Battel; *Athalaric* King of the *Ostrogoths* remained Victor, and *Fritigern* King of the *Visigoths* was defeated. The last had recourse to the protection of the Emperor, who sent him a very considerable Relief. He overcame *Athalaric* at his turn, and as an acknowledgment to the Emperor, and so many Christians, who came to his assistance, he embraced the Christian Religion, and would have his Subjects do the same. *Valens* did not lose this occasion of advancing the *Arrian* Sect, pursuant to the Vow he had made at his Baptism. He sent forthwith to *Fritigern* men that were passionate for this Doctrine, who inspired the Prince therewith, as also his Subjects by the treachery of *Ulphilas* their Bishop, the first Inventer of the *Gothick* Letters, and Translator of the Holy Scriptures into his Language, which they had effected in the time of his Embassies at *Constantinople*.

*Sozom. l. 6.*

*c. 37.*

*Theodor. l.*

*4. c. ult.*

*Oros. l. 7.*

*c. 32.*



XLVIII. These two Kings began to re-unite; and demanded nothing more than Peace, after so many foreign and domestick Wars, when they were assaulted of a sudden both one and t'other, and expelled with their whole Nation from those Lands which they had conquered. A People unknown, and till then enclosed between the River *Tanaïs*, and the frozen Sea, went out of their own Country, and dispersed themselves like a Torrent into all the adjoining Provinces.

*Amnian.*  
l. 31.  
209. l. 4.

They were the *Huns*, a Nation without Honesty, Justice, or Religion, hardened to Labour from their Infancy, nourished with savage Roots, and raw Flesh, always encamped, and avoiding Houses as if they had been Tombs, wandering all day, and sleeping at night on Horseback, being accustomed to fall out with one another, and to be Friends again immediately, without any other Reason; than that of their natural Inconstancy.

*Claudian.*  
in *Ruff. in*  
l. 1.  
*Forand. c.*  
24.

Their innumerable Horse, and prodigious number of Chariots which followed them, loaded with their Wives and Children; their manner of fighting in round Bodies, and of rallying again, a moment after their defeat; the very figure of these Men, in stature small, but strong, and well compact; their Faces rugged, their Eyes but small, and Heads of an unsuitable bigness: all this cast a terror in the minds of People, who were not so barbarous as they.

XLIX. They attacked the *Alains* presently, who were constrained to seek their Friendship. They pushed on their Conquests as far as this side the *Boristhenes*, driving, or massacring all that made resistance, and extended themselves towards *Dacia*:

*tia:*

*bia.* At the noise of this formidable march, all the *Goths* run to their Arms. *Athalaric*, who was the most exposed, collected all his Troops, and advanced himself towards the Banks of the River *Danast*, in order to dispute the Enemies passage. He sent in the mean time several Parties above twenty Leagues beyond, to observe them, and to bring him the News. But notwithstanding all his Precautions, the *Huns* prevented these Parties, and passed the River by favor of the night, partly by fording, and partly by swimming. Altho' *Athalaric* had hardly leisure to put his Army in order, yet he sustained their first Attack with abundance of vigor: but as he saw himself overwhelmed by number, he retired with as much of his Army as he could save, and gained the mountains, where he retrenched himself, whilst the Enemies amused themselves by laying waste the *Plat-country*.

*Ammian.*  
*ibid.*

L. In the mean time the affrighted *Goths* advanced all towards the Banks of the *Danube*; *Videric* King of the *Grotungues*, a Youth under age, came to join them under the conduct of *Alathe*, and *Saphrax*, two excellent Captains. They were too great a number to subsist in so small a space, and too few to oppose such powerful Enemies. In this Extremity they sent an Embassy to the Emperor *Valens*, humbly to request of him some Lands in *Thrace*, where they might live in peace under his protection, promising to serve him in his Wars, and to preserve themselves the Frontiers of the Empire. The Affair was debated in Council. They that consulted the Publick Good, were of opinion to reject the Proposition, and remonstrated to the Emperor, that it was necessary to mistrust a People who had often broke their

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Faith with him, and would become insolent, as soon as they should cease to be miserable.

Others, to accommodate themselves to the humor of the Prince, represented to him, that it was for his glory to give Retreat to the unfortunate; that he might encrease his Armies with a great number of these strangers; and that discharging the Provinces from the Recruits they were obliged to furnish, he might draw from them every year considerable Sums as a compensation. These Reasons affected the Emperor. He granted the *Goths* their demands, and sent Orders to *Lupicin* Governor of *Thrace*, to furnish them with Necessaries and to receive them into his Province, upon condition still that they should enter therein without Arms, that they should not exceed the limits which should be set out to them, and that they should send their Male Children into the East, to be brought up there in the exercise of *Roman* Discipline.

*Zoe. l. 4.*

LI. *Lupicin* went as far as the Banks of the *Danube*, accompanied with *Maximus*, Commander of the Foot. They saw King *Fritigern* arrive with his Subjects, and distributed Provisions to them, and some Lands to cultivate. The River at that time had overflowed, so that this multitude of *Barbarians* were many days and nights in passing over. *Valens*, as if he had secured the Empire, thought he had no further need of the old Troops, levied no more new ones, and neglected the Recruits, which he ordered to be paid him in money, to the value of fourscore Crowns in gold for every Soldier. In a little time the Armies grew weak, and the Officers were discontented.

*Socrat. l. 4.*

c. 34.

*Sozom. l. 6.*

c. 38.

The *Goths* on their side began to want Provisions, and found themselves reduced; by the avarice of the Governor, to give their Goods, and sell their very Children for bread. They endured these Extremities, till such time as Despair made them begin to murmur. *Lupicin*, mistrusting a Revolt, being resolved at the same time not to relax, kept himself upon his guard, and got the *Thracian* Army together on this side. *Alathée* and *Safrax*, to whom *Valens* had refused to give Retreat, coasted the *Danube* at that time, and finding some places but ill guarded, made shift to get some Boats, and made their Horse pass over in disorder. As for *Athamaric*, he durst not ask any favor of the Emperor, who had hated him of a long time, and threw himself upon a quarter of the *Sarmats*, where he established himself by force of Arms.

In the mean time King *Fritigern* retained the Fury of the *Goths*, and dexterously managed the humor of the *Romans*, till he could discover his resentment with more security. Having information by Spies, that *Alathée* and *Safrax* had passed the River, and foreseeing that he should have occasion for Horse, he marched towards them by small Journies, and By-ways, to give no suspicion of intelligence. At last he encamped near *Martianopolis*, where *Lupicin* received him into his house; and entertained him magnificently. Whilst they were at Table, some *Goths* coming to the gates of the City to make their Provisions, the Soldiers of the Garison repulsed them; they grew hot on both sides, came to handy Blows, all the Burgeßes took Arms, and the whole Camp of the *Goths* mutined.

The Governor being advertised of this disorder, was not much disturbed at it; and as he was



*Amnian. l.*  
31.

half drunk; he gave Orders softly to murder those of the King's Retinue, who attended him in the next Hall. This Order could not be executed so secretly, but *Fritigern* mistrusted it, and even heard the Cryes of those whose Throats were cut. He arose from the Table of a sudden, without giving the Governor time to take any Resolution, and went out of the City under a pretence of shewing himself, and to chastise the mutinous. As soon as he was in safety, he took Horse, and run every where to encourage his People to revenge. In a little time, the whole Nation rose up, and *Valens* had for Enemies those whom he lookt upon as his Hosts and Allies.

LII. They presently fell a ravaging the Country, and put several Villages to Fire and Sword. *Fritigern* let them satiate their first anger, after which he put them in what order he could, and made them march under their Colours. *Aspicin* on his side assembled his Troops, and thought his appearance would suffice to disperse this storm: but he suffered himself to be surprized, and this crowd of *Barbarians* without order, and hardly arms, having fallen upon him and his army, he made a scandalous flight. The *Goths* after having killed the greatest part of the Soldiers and Officers, took the habits and arms of the dead, and pillaged all *Thrace* without resistance. The Slaves which they had sold for necessities, broke their Chains, and run to them from all parts. A Troop of Malecontents came to joyn with them, and shewed them places where they might enrich themselves, and where to retrench. At the same time an ancient Regiment of *Goths*, which had their Winter quarters at *Adrianople*, was expelled thence by the

*Amnian.*  
*ib.*

*Zor. l. 4.*

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Inhabitants, albeit it had no concern in the revolt, and had always served the Empire with fidelity.

LIII. These *Barbarians* being full of indignation at this treatment, sent to their Companions for succor, and besieged *Adrianople*. They made several assaults, and were always repulsed. *Fritigern*, seeing that they consumed themselves in vain before this place, made them understand that they should fight with Men, and not with Walls; that it was of little importance to take a City, when they might gain several Provinces, where there was more spoils to take, and less danger to incur. These Troops, pursuant to the King's advice, raised the Siege, and dispersed themselves into *Thrace*, *Mæsia*, and *Pannonia*.

LIV. The Emperor *Valens* was then at *Antioch*, where by the counsel of some *Arrian* Bishops, and applications of the Empress, he was employed in persecuting the Catholics. Some died in Torments, others were cast into the *Orontes*. The most holy Prelates were expelled their Churches, and Fire and Sword were carried to the very solitudes of *Egypt*. The *Pagans* themselves were mollified and reduced to pity: and the Philosopher *Themistius* went to find out the Emperor, to tell him, That he persecuted good men without reason; that it was not a crime to entertain different thoughts, and a belief different from his; that he ought not to be amazed Socrat. l. 4. at this diversity of Opinions; that the Gentiles were c. 32. much more divided amongst themselves, than the Chri- Sezom. l. 6.istians; that every one had a prospect of the Truth thro' c. 36. some place, and that it had pleased God to confound the pride of men, and to render himself the more venerable by the difficulty of knowing him. The Emperor was

touched at the discourse of this Philosopher, and diminished a little of that false zeal of Religion which had possessed him entirely. He received almost at the same time the news of the Revolt of *Fritigern*, the defeat of *Lupicin*, and the desolation of the Provinces. Then he repented of the Faults he had committed, and resolved to revenge himself for the ingratitude of the *Goths*, and to fall upon them with all the Forces of the Empire.

*Socrat. l. 4.*

*c. 36.*

*Sozom. 16.*

*c. 38.*

LV. This Affair wonderfully disturbed him, because he had already many Adversaries upon his hands. The *Saracins* were the most formidable. They had lost their King some time since, and the Queen *Maruvia* his Wife was left Regent. Altho she was an Ally of the *Romans*, they began to trouble her, and thought they might with safety provoke a Nation, that was governed only by a Woman. She made her Complaints, and could receive no satisfaction. She broke the Alliance then her Husband had contracted with the Emperor, took the Field with a puissant Army, and ravaged *Palestine*, *Phœnicia*, and that part of *Egypt* which is between the *Nile*, and the *Red Sea*. The Governor of *Phœnicia* presented himself often to oppose her passages, but he was always beaten, and lost the best part of his Troops. He must have recourse to the Count *Victor*, General of the Eastern Armies. This General advanced with a great Body of Horse and Foot, and slighting the Governor who came to join him, he ordered him to stand aside, and to leave him the honour of a Victory which he could not obtain himself. With this assurance he approached, gave Battel, and lost it; his whole Army was defeated, and himself had perished,

perished, if the Governor had not run to disengage him, and to favor his flight. After this Victory, the Queen was in a condition to push on her Conquests further without controulment.

LVI. At the same time the *Persians* required the Emperor to abandon *Armenia*, which was a subject of perpetual War between the two Nations. The Emperor sustained his Rights; and after divers interpretations of the last Treaties, and several Embassies on both sides, it was resolved to determine this difference by Arms, which they could not decide by Negotiation. King *Sapor* sent Orders to his Lieutenant-General to render himself Master of some places, and disposed himself to march at the head of an Army in the beginning of the Spring.

*Ammian. l.*  
30.

LVII. There was no less occasion to fear within the Empire, than without. The Provinces being tired with the Tyranny of the Governors, and the persecution of the Catholics, were upon the point to rise. *Valens*, who was afraid of being overwhelmed, dispatched Couriers to the Emperor *Gratian* his Nephew for assistance, and made haste to satisfy the *Persians* and *Saracins*, that he might have only the *Goths* upon his hands, and might collect all his Troops into a Body.

He gave immediate Orders to Count *Victor* to go and find Queen *Mauvia*, and to conclude a Peace with her upon any Conditions whatsoever. This Negotiation was more fortunate than War; for the Queen, who had as much Wisdom as Valor, stopt the course of her Victories, and was contented with having reduced an Emperor to fear her. *Victor* of his side managed the humor of that



Princess with so much ingenuity, running upon her admirable qualities, and making it an honour to be overcome by her, that in a few days she granted him a Peace, and even bestowed her Daughter upon him in marriage. Nevertheless, as she was zealous for the Christian Religion, which she had but lately embraced, she would not consent to sign the Treaty, before he had engaged to let her have for a Bishop one of her own Subjects, called *Mesfer*, who lived in the reputation of holiness in the solitudes of *Egypt*. The Condition appeared very agreeable, and the Treaty was concluded and executed almost at the same time.

Sozom. l. 6.  
c. 38.

*Victor* had Orders to pass into *Persia*, in order to terminate as well as he could the differences between the two Crowns, and to bring along with him those Legions which were in *Armenia*, as soon as there should be a Peace determined. The Emperor relaxed much from his Pretensions, and consented to an Accommodation, which would have been scandalous, without a real necessity; it was even convenient to bear with some infractions of the Treaty, whereof it was not a time to complain, and to dissemble an Affair which was not at that juncture the most pressing. There remained nothing more than to satisfy the People, which was done by repealing the exiled Bishops, and letting every one live in the exercise of his Religion without disturbance.

LVIII. *Valens* then thought his Affairs to be in a good posture, and was preparing to go from *Antioch*, when he received advice that *Trajan*, who commanded the Legions of *Armenia*, had attack'd the *Goths* in *Thrace*, that he had put them to the Rout, and chased them to the very Streights of Mount

Mount *Hemus*; that he had gained the Defiles upon them, and had kept them enclosed for some time; but that hunger and despair having made them perform extraordinary things, he had been constrained to retire, and to abandon to them the passages. A little while after he learnt that *Trajan* had joined *Ricomer*, a *French* Prince, that was sent from the West with some auxiliary Troops; that these two Captains had approached the Camp of the *Goths*, with a design to force them in their Trenches if it were possible, or else to fall upon the Rear-guard if they decamped in disorder, as they were used to do; that after they had observed one another for a long time, they came to handy blows; that the Fight had lasted from morning till night; and that the number of the *Barbarians* having at last prevailed over the Valor of the *Romans*, *Trajan* had made his Retreat as a Soldier, and *Ricomer* was returned to the West, in order to bring a more considerable Relief.

The Emperor was so much the more disturbed at this News, in that he learnt that a great many Officers were slain, and that the *Goths* securely made Inruptions to the very Suburbs of *Constantinople*. He dispatched a Body of Horse to *Trajan*, that he might keep the Field all the rest of Autumn.

LIX. In the mean time *Gratian*, in the impatience he was in to relieve his Uncle, had made the greatest part of his Army pass towards *Illyrium*, and prepared himself to march in the midst of Winter to be in the East at the opening of the Campaign. He left *Merobaudes* King of the *French* in *Gaul*, to secure it; and knowing that the destiny  
of

Ambros. de  
Fide ad  
Grat.

of Princes is in the hands of God, and that they ought to expect Victory rather from their Piety, than the Number or Courage of their Soldiers, he had entreated St. Ambrose to compose for him a little Treatise of the True Faith, which he might read during his Expedition.

Ammian.  
L. 31.

LX. But as he was upon the point of parting, the Germans thinking to take advantage of his absence, passed the Rhine upon the Ice in the month of February, and began to destroy the lands of the Empire. For all they were above forty thousand men, this young Emperor shewed nothing of amazement; he made the Troops march, which he had retained in Gaul, and recalled those which he had sent towards Pannonia. He advanced himself at the head of them, and encountering the enemy about Strasbourg, he attack'd them so seasonably, and with so much resolution, that he gave them an entire defeat. There remained upon the place five and thirty thousand, all their Commanders, and their King himself being killed Gratian persued those that fled to the very Woods and Mountains, and compelled the whole Nation humbly to request a Peace, and to give as Hostages all the young men of the Country, whereby he reinforced his Army. That being done, he gave orders, and march'd by great journeys towards Pannonia, notwithstanding he was extremely incommoded with an intermitting Fever.

LXI. Valens on his side went very slowly to Constantinople; and gave out orders to his General Officers, who met him upon the Road. Trajan came before him, to give him an account of the condition of those Troops he commanded. As soon

soon as he appeared, the Emperor fell into a passion, and charging him with the loss of the last <sup>Theodoret.</sup> Fight, reproached him outrageously for his small <sup>l. 4. c. 33.</sup> Conduct and Valor. *Trajan* heard these Reproaches without being moved; and as he was a person of great Piety, he replied to the Emperor, *If we are overcome, my Lord, 'tis you that obstruct our Conquest. You make War with God himself, and God assists the Barbarians who are at War with you. 'Tis he that gives Victory to those who fight in his Name, and takes it away from those who are his declared Enemies. You will acknowledge that you are so, if you consider what the Bishops are, whom you have banished from their Churches, and those you have advanced in their places.* The Emperor being offended at this discourse, was going to shie out; but *Arinthus* and *Victor*, the Generals of his Army, made him understand, that he had very sensibly touched a Man of Courage; that the zeal of Religion had made him speak; and that it was convenient to pardon this Remonstrance, which was perhaps but too well grounded. *Valens* was a little pacified, and was contented with depriving *Trajan* of his charge of Colonel of the Foot, which he had exercised with much Reputation.

LXII. At last the Emperor arrived at *Constantinople* towards the end of *May*, with part of his *Socras*. <sup>l. 4. c. 38.</sup> Army. The *Goths* continued their Courses to the very gates of the City, and to ransack the Country as before. As for him he kept himself enclosed, whether it was that he durst not undertake any thing before he had received News from *Gratian*, or that he had a mind to chastise the City by Soldiers who consumed it within, and the *Barbarians* who pillaged it without; for he was not reconciled



conciled to it, since it had taken the Tyrant *Procopius's* part against him. Whereupon they began to murmur, and talk openly that the Emperor held intelligence with the *Barbarians*, and delivered his Subjects to them; insomuch that one day when he assisted at some Horse-courses, they cryed out on all sides, *Let us fall to our Arms, and go out and*

*Socrat. ib, take the Field, whilst the Emperor diverts himself in the*  
*Socrat. l. 6. Circus.* He was touched at these seditious words,  
*c. 39.* and departed the City in anger upon the 11<sup>th</sup> of

*June*, threatening to return after the War, and destroy it without remedy.

He retired to *Melanthias*, a Pleasure-house of the Emperors, some few miles from *Constantinople*. There, as he got his Troops together, he received Letters from *Gratian*, which purported to him the defeat of the *Germans*, and assured him of his sudden arrival with his victorious Army. In effect, he was upon march with his Horse, and came to *Sirmium* to attend his Foot and Equipage. On the other side, the Count *Sebastian*, who kept the Field with 2000 choice Men, had surprized several Parties, and made a great slaughter of *Goths* near *Adrianople*.

LXIII. In the mean time King *Fritigern* judging that it was necessary to come to a Battel, ceased his pillages and wasting of the Countrey, and commanded all his scattered Men to come and join the gross of the Army, as well to prevent their falling into the Ambuscades of the *Romans*, as to accustom them to the discipline of the Camp. He sent Couriers to *Alathens* and *Safrax*, to pray them to approach in diligence with their Horse. He encamped no longer but in Plains, and near Cities, for fear of being surprized, or at a loss for Provisions.

*Ammian.*  
*ib.*

visions. As soon as he had advice that the Emperor was near, he retired as if he had an intention to avoid the fight, and covered so well his march, dividing his Army into several different bodies, that the enemies Scouts could discern but a part of them. He had detached some Batallions, to seize upon the advanced Posts: and had cut off the provisions of the *Romans*, if he had not been prevented. In a word, he managed himself with so much prudence and caution, that one would have taken *Fritigern* for the *Roman* Prince, and *Valens* for the *Barbarian*.

LXIV. As soon as the Emperor was come to *Adrianople*, they that had been sent to view the *Goths*, reported to him that they were not above ten thousand men; that they were retired in disorder, and durst not be seen out of their Trenches. Then he believed the Victory was certain. At the same time *Ricomar* came from *Sirmium*, to advertize him that *Gratian* was upon the march, and that he would suddenly arrive. This young Prince wrote to his Uncle, and conjured him to attend him, and suffer him to partake at least the fatigues and dangers of this War, if not the glory of it. *Ammian. ibid.*

*Valens* assembled the Council, and put the affair into consideration: *Victor*, General of the Horse, was of opinion to precipitate nothing; and represented, that the Enemies were stronger than was imagined; that their Army might be encreased in a little time with an infinite number of Troops, that were dispersed in the Country; that they had a vigilant Captain, who knew how to make use of opportunities; that it would be a hard matter to force them in their Camp, or to defeat them in

in battel with the single forces of the East; but that they might be assured of subduing them without recovery, if they attended the assistance of the *Gauls*. He added, that it was to offend an Emperor, who came in person to relieve them, to fight without necessity when he was upon the point of arriving. The chief Officers of the Army were of the same opinion.

*Sebastien* on the other side sustained, that it was necessary to give Battel forthwith. This was a great Captain, lately come from the Western Courts, where he could not agree with the Ministers. He commanded the Infantry since the disgrace of *Trajan*, and sought all occasions to signalize himself in his charge, and to get into credit with the Emperor. As long as he observed this Prince to be amazed and irresolute, he advised him to continue near *Constantinople* with his Army; but as soon as he saw him disposed to fight, he proposed to attack the enemy, whom he represented to be weakened by his losses, frightened and trembling in his Camp, and not in a condition to recollect his scattered forces. All the young men of the Court and Army took this part, some to comply with the Emperor, others to acquire glory; even many stirt'd up by a false emulation, cried out, that they would never suffer others to come and conquer for them. *Valens*, who was assured of Victory, and was otherwise jealous of the reputation which his Nephew had acquired, chose the counsel which flattered most his passion, and resolved to go directly to the enemies before *Gratian's* arrival.

*Amian.*  
A 31.

LXV. *Fritigern* on his side knowing that he should have two great Armies, and two Emperors upon his hands, if the Affair was not soon determined,

mined, judged it convenient either to compound with *Valens*, or suddenly engage him to a general Battell. Whereupon he sent Ambassadors to him, and made him reasonable Propositions in very respectful and submissive terms. He hoped thereby that the Emperor would either grant him Peace, or that he would interpret his Submissions for marks of fear and weakness, and be the more desirous for Battell. The Bishop *Ulpian*, who had the Secret of the Embassy, went without delay to the Camp of *Adrianople*, where he was honourably received, and presently conducted to an Audience. He presented his Letters in publick, by which the King his Master, in the name of all his Subjects, requested the Emperor to leave undisturbed an unhappy Nation, chafed from all parts, which had not taken up Arms but in extremity, was ready to depose them, and considered only how to live and serve the Empire, and to mature in peace those Lands which had been afforded them in *Thrace*.

This Prelate had Orders to demand a secret Audience, and to render a second dispatch into the Emperor's own hand, in case the first took no effect. *Fritigern* wrote to *Valens*, that he was resolved to be his Friend and his Ally, and that he had endeavored to reduce the *Goths* to Reason; but that they were *Barbarians*, who could not imagine to themselves that they durst be assaulted; notwithstanding there was nothing more to do, than to shew them the Army, and they would submit to all things, as soon as they were frighted with the name and presence of an Emperor.

LXVI These Ambassadors were dismissed without any Answer; and *Valens* was so much the more



*Ammian.  
ibid.  
Idas. in  
fast.*

more impatient, inasmuch as he thought the *Goths* had an intention to shun him. He disposed all things, and marched the next day, being the 9<sup>th</sup> of *August*, at day-break, leaving all his Equipage near *Adrianople*, in order to make the more haste. He arrived about Noon in prospect of the Enemy, and put his Army in Battel-array, all fatigued, as it was, with a march of twelve miles, through difficult ways, and an excessive heat.

The King of the *Goths* sent Deputies to the Emperor forthwith, to offer new Proposals of Peace; for as he was wise and ingenious, he feared the consequence of a Battel, and was desirous of getting time whatsoever hapned, till the Cavalry, which he expected, was come up. In the mean time he visited his Camp, gave Orders to his Captains, and disposed his Troops behind an Intrenchment of all the Chariots of his Army. He gave directions for great Fires to be kindled throughout the Countrey, to the end that the *Romans* heated and thirsty by the sultriness of the day, coming still to breathe a burning Air, might be less in a condition to fight. At the same time he had advice that the Emperor had despised his Deputies, and would make no Treaty but with the Chief of the Nation. He sent him word that he would come himself, if he would before-hand dispatch to him some of the Lords of his Court as Hostages. This Negotiation made a kind of a Truce for some hours, during which time *Alaricus* and *Safrax* arrived with their Horse, and formed two great Squadrons at the head of the Camp of the *Goths*.

*Ammian.  
ibid.*

LXVII. The Proposition of the King was accepted in the Emperor's Council, and they had all ready

ready deliberated upon the choice of Hostages; when the two Parties found themselves, as it were, insensibly engaged: for *Dacarius*, Captain of the *Iberians*, who were placed at the head of the Right Wing, having perceived towards the Enemy's Camp a Body of Horse, composed of *Blacks* and *Alains*, detached himself without order, and immediately run to charge him. The *Barbarians*, without being moved, attended him, and repulsed him with great loss of his side; whereupon arose a great noise on both sides. Some Squadrons advanced to support the *Iberians*, who retired in disorder; but *Alathenus* suddenly thundred upon them; and after having cut in pieces all that had the courage to resist him, he pressed upon the rest so briskly, that he overturned Horse and Foot, and put the whole Right Wing in disorder, insomuch that it was never able to recover itself.

LXVIII. In the mean time *Fritigern* went out to Battle with a part of his Troops, and run headlong upon the Right Wing, where were the Legions commanded by the Count *Sebastian*, and encouraged by the presence of the Emperor. Both one and the other fought courageously, but at last the *Goths* gave way; and whether it was that they could not sustain the Enemy's Encounter, or else had a mind to draw them near their Camp, that they might not escape; they retired as far as the intrenchment of the Chariots. There they stood firm, as if they had resumed new Forces. The *Romans* also made their utmost efforts to keep their advantage: but some Companies of Archers who guarded the Camp, drawing upon them on one side, and *Alathenus* on the other, who returned from pursuing the Horse, charging them in the Flank,

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and an innumerable multitude of the *Barbarians* encompassing them on all sides, they considered no further than to sell their Lives as dear as they could.

LXIX. After having fought some time at a distance with flights of Arrows, they came to Spear and Sword. According as the Enemy got ground, they stood close, till such time as their Force being exhausted, and overwhelmed by number, they were for the most part cut in pieces. The Count *Sebastian* Colonel of the Foot, *Valerian* Great Master of the Horse, *Equitius* near Kinsman of the Emperor, and Great Master of his Palace, a matter of five and thirty Tribunes and an infinite number of other Officers remained upon the place. The Emperor seeing this disorder, could not tell what to resolve on. Two Companies of his Guards protected him with their Shields. *Trajan* was come to his assistance near his person, with the greatest part of the Volunteers, and cryed out that there was Relief a coming. But all things were in confusion. The *Batavians* who composed the Body of Reserve, had taken flight. *Victor* and *Ricomar* could not succeed in rallying their Men. Then Night being come, *Trajan* advised the Emperor to save himself; and sustaining himself alone the whole power of the Enemy, he received several wounds, and generously dyed for his Countrey, and a Prince, who had abused, and shook him off not long before.

LXX. *Valens*, to conceal his flight, joined company with some Soldiers, who fled as well as he. He advanced but little, because the night was dark

and

and the Country covered with dead bodies; and to compleat his misfortune, he was hurt with an Arrow, by some rambling *Barbarians*, who shot at random wheresoever they heard a noise. He fell from his Horse, and was carried by some of his *Domesticks* into a Country House they met in their way. They had no sooner stopt the blood, and laid on, as well as they could, the first apparel to his wound, but a Troop of disbanded *Goths* came in disorder with a design to plunder the House, without knowing its Inhabitants at that time. *Amian. l. 31.* They attempted to force the doors; and as they found resistance, they renounced an Enterprize, which they thought not to succeed in, and where they did not expect to find much advantage. Notwithstanding to revenge themselves of those, who opposed them in the House, they set fire to it, and passed on.

It was there *Valens*, overwhelmed with grief, and pressed with the remorses of his conscience, was burnt alive upon the ninth of *August*, in the fourteenth year of his Reign, and the fiftieth year of his Age. *Amian. ib. l. 4.* The *Barbarians* learnt his death by one of his *Domesticks*, who was saved from the combustion, and were afflicted at the loss of an opportunity to make an Emperor Prisoner, and to make advantage of his Spoils. Such was the deplorable end of *Valens*. He had the fortune of evil Princes; *Hieronim. in Chronic. Oros. l. 7. c. 33.* hated in his life, and dying without being *Chrystost. Epist. ad vid.* lamented.

LXXI. History reports, that since the battle of *Cannæ*, the *Romans* had not sustained a more considerable loss. There remained upon the place above two thirds of their Army, the rest were dispersed and lodged in the Cities on all sides. *Amian. l. 31.*



The Count *Victor* and *Ricomar* run with expedition to the Emperor *Gratian*, to give him advice of this defeat, and to hinder his advancement too far. In the mean time the *Goths* thought only how to gather the fruits of their Victory, and to plunder the Provinces, whereof they esteemed themselves masters. *Gratian*, touched at the loss of this battle, and his Uncle's death, which he understood at the same time, considered whether he should continue his March, or return. The *Goths* were powerful, he had but few Troops to oppose them; he lost the Empire, if he should be overcome. These reasons obliged him to retire to *Sirmium*, till he should assemble greater Forces, or that in the heat of Pillage, division should arise amongst the *Barbarians*.

LXXII. In the mean while he reflected in his mind upon all the circumstances of this war; the blindness of the Court, who had taken for Defenders of the State, those who were its most dangerous Enemies; the imprudence of the Emperor, who had always either too much feared them, or too much despised them; the fatal adventure of this Prince, who came to experiment the cruelty of those, whose Faith he had debauched. He considered he had writ to him a little before, *That the blood of so many Martyrs, and the banishment of so many persecuted Bishops, was the true cause of the Revolutions of the Empire; that Princes could not assure themselves of the fidelity of men, when they are not themselves faithful to God; and that the insurrection of an Arrian Nation, against an Arrian Emperor, was an effect of the divine Justice, which punished impiety by impiety it self.*

LXXIII. To

LXXIII. To remedy these disorders, and to render Heaven favorable to him, he made forthwith an Edict, whereby he repealed the Bishops, that were exiled for the Catholick Faith, and re-established them in their Sees. He commanded *Sapor* one of his Lieutenant Generals, to go and execute this Order throughout the East, to chase the false Bishops from the Churches they had usurped, and to suffer none but those, who were in the Communion of Pope *Damasus*. Notwithstanding judging it convenient to manage the humors of the People, and joyning Sweetness to Piety, he allowed every one the free exercise of his Religion, and prohibited no public Assemblies but to certain Sects, which appeared to him either ridiculous, or scandalous.

LXXIV. After having delivered the Church from its Oppression, it was necessary to consider of means in order to save the State. *Valens* died without Children, and the young *Valeminian*, who had the Title and Quality of Emperor, was not yet of an age to exercise the functions of it; so *Gratian* alone was charged with all the cares of the Empire. He saw at the same time the *Goths* victorious in *Thrace*, and other barbarous Nations ready to make an irruption into the Lands of the Empire. Being unable himself to suffice the whole, or to know where his presence would be most necessary, he searcht for a man that was capable to assist him in his wars, and to command in the East in his absence. He cast his Eyes upon *Theodosius*, whose Valor and Wisdom he was acquainted with; and whether he had already resolved to associate him to the Empire, or only

designed to give him the command of the Army; he wrote to him, and sent him Orders to come forthwith to *Sirmium*,

LXXV. *Theodosius* was then in *Spain*, where he was retired, as we have already said, to avoid the Persecution of *Valens*, and the Envy of those Courtiers, who could not dispence with his Reputation, nor his Merit. He lived in his retreat without complaining either of Emperors, or his Fortune. Sometimes he was at the City amongst his fellow Citizens, composing the differences of some, assisting others in their necessities, obliging all the world, and preferring himself to no one; sometimes in the Country, where he manured himself his Gardens, and addicted himself, with satisfaction to all the cares of Husbandry. Making this advantage of his disgrace, he learnt to gain the Friendship of the People, and accustomed himself so well, to all the Offices of a civil life, that he retained the sweetness and modesty of a private person, even when he was raised to Sovereign Dignity. He was in this condition when he received *Gratian's* Letters; he put his domestic affairs in order, and departed a few days after.

*Pacat. in  
Panegy.*

LXXVI. In the mean time the *Goths*, after their Victory, went, against the advice of King *Fritigern*, to besiege *Adrianople*, where they received information that *Valens* had enclosed his Treasures, and all that he had most precious in the Empire. They made their approaches tumultuously, and gave several assaults; but it was with so much precipitation and disorder, that they were always repulsed and lost their best Troops. They had won some Soldiers of the Garison, who were to

deliver

*Ammian.  
lib. 31.*

deliver to them one of the City gates; but the intelligence was discovered. At last being incommoded with the rains that fell several days together, pelted with the Artillery of the besieged, and discouraged with the tediousness of the Siege, they passed as far as the Precincts of *Perinthus*, where they hoped to find a more considerable booty.

LXXVII. As they durst not attack this place, they plundered the Country, and approached *Constantinople* with a design to invest it, and to take it either by Assault or Famine. The Empress *Dominica*, the Wife of *Valens*, opened the public Treasure, and encouraged so well, by her Discourse and Largeesses, the Inhabitants and Soldiers, that they made a Sally, and charged a body of the *Barbarians*, which was advanced towards the City. The fight was bloody, and finished by an action which surprized the *Goths*, and cast a terror into their whole Army.

Some *Sarazin* battalions which Queen *Mauvia* Zor. l. 4. had sent to the assistance of the Empire, and which *Valens* had left in Garrison at *Constantinople*, where at handy blows with the Enemy, and the Victory was yet uncertain, when of a sudden a Soldier of that Nation was seen to appear with a Dagger in his hand, and muttering some dismal words. He went out of the ranks all naked, and falling upon the first *Goth* he met with, stab'd him in the breast, and instantly cast himself upon him to suck the blood which trickled from his wound. The *Goths* amazed at this brutish action, which they took for a prodigy, fled in disorder, and had not the courage to assault the *Sarazins*.



Ambros. Ep.  
59.

Ammian.  
l. 31.

Hier. Ep. 3.  
202. l. 4.

202. l. 4.

LXXVIII. They were not more successful before *Theſſalonica*, they attempted ſeveral times to become Maſters of this City, which was not in a condition to reſiſt them: but *St. Aſcole* the Biſhop thereof, defended it by the ſole vertue of his Prayers. It is reported that a ſecret fear poſſeſſed theſe *Barbarians*, as ſoon as they approached; that they loſt, without knowing for what reaſon, that natural fierceneſs which they had at other times; and that the wiſeſt of them were of opinion to abandon the attempt, and to leave undiſturbed a City, which God ſo viſibly protected by the interceſſion of this Holy Prelate.

At length after they had loſt the Pillage of theſe three Cities, they threw themſelves into *Macedon*, *Thrace*, *Scythia*, *Meſia*, and diſperſed themſelves as far as the *Julian Alpes*, which confine *Italy* on this ſide, ravaging all theſe Provinces, and leaving every where fatal Teſtimonies of their avarice and fury.

LXXIX. The Eaſt was going to fall into a like diſorder, if there had not been a ſudden ſtop put to the courſe of a Conſpiracy, which was already formed. When the *Goths* were received in *Thrace*, one of the Conditions impoſed upon them was, that they ſhould give up their Children for Hoſtages, and Neceſſity obliged them to conſent to it. They hoped by that means to ſecure the fidelity of their Fathers, and to accuſtom the Children inſenſibly to the Laws and Diſcipline of the *Romans*, in order to make both ſerve in the Wars of the Empire. *Julius*, who commanded in the Eaſt, was charged with the Education of theſe *Barbarian* Youths. He diſperſed them in the Cities of his Governments, and inſtructed them, according to the Orders he had received from Court. Many  
of

of them were already of an age to carry Arms, and notwithstanding the care which was taken to conceal from them the Victory of their Nation, they came to understand the News.

Then returning to their nature, they concerted amongst themselves how to seize upon certain Cities, and to put those Garisons to the Sword who should not be upon their guard. Those that were together, advertised their Companions secretly, and the Conspiracy was suddenly to take effect. *Julius* had advice of it, and was resolved to prevent them. He visited the places, gave Orders to the Governors, and proclaimed throughout the whole extent of his government, that the Emperor, to gratify these strangers, and to engage them the stronger to the service of the Empire, had commanded to distribute to them not only Money, but also Lands and Houses, and that they should be treated as natural Subjects.

*Amnicus.*

*l. 31.*

*Zor. l. 4.]*

The day was appointed for this distribution. The *Barbarians* hoping to take the advantage of the Money, and Favors which were to be allowed them, and to render their Rebellion more easy and secure, were softened a little. They came to the Cities whose Garisons were under-hand reinforced; and as they were assembled in the great Streets, some Troops that were lodged in the adjacent Houses, fell upon them with their Swords, and slew the greatest part: the rest thinking to save themselves by the cross-ways, were knocked down with stones by the Citizens.

They did not so much as spare those who were not of an age to do an injury, and by an inhumane Prudence *Julius* delivered these Provinces from the danger they were in. The affair was manag'd with so much dexterity, and orders given and executed

cuted so opportunely, that this Massacre the same day went throughout the East, without the *Goths* conceiving the least suspicion of it, or the possibility of one's escaping.

LXXX. Things were in this condition, when *Theodosius* arriv'd at *Sirmium*. *Gratian* receiv'd him so much the more favourably, inasmuch as he was ashamed of having banisht him his Court, and that he was upon entrusting him with the most important affair of the Empire. He made him General of his Army, and dispatched him against the *Goths* with a part of those Troops he had in *Illyrium*.

*Theodosius* marched forthwith towards *Thrace*, where the Enemies were assembled in a vast number. He knew that several Companies of *Alains*, *Huns*, and *Taisals*, had joined them since their last Victory, and that they were of opinion to have reduced the Emperor to dare no further to appear in Field. But he learnt at the same time that their best Soldiers were disbanded, that the chief Officers were divided amongst themselves; that *Fritigern* was no longer Master of them, and that there was neither Order nor Discipline amongst such a heap of *Barbarians*, who were come to assist them in their Pillage, and not to fight.

LXXXI. Then he advanced with much assurance; and having encountred the Enemy, he gave them Battel, slew the greatest part, obliged the rest to repass the *Danube*, and went himself to carry the News of this defeat to Court. *Theodoret* reports, that *Theodosius* left so great a number of them slain upon the place, made so many Prisoners, and obtained so much Spoil, that being come with

*Theod. l. 5.  
c. 5. & 6.*

with an extream diligence to give the Emperor an account of his Victory, it appeared immediately incredible.

His Rivals durst accuse him of having been defeated, and of having fled himself; and *Gratian* being astonished, was at a stand how to employ his Faith. *Theodosius* entreated him to send his Accusers upon the place, to the end they might examine the truth, and give a testimony of it themselves. The Emperor, to satisfy his pressing Solicitations, charged persons of degree and reputation to go forthwith and learn the particulars of this Action, and to return with a clear Information to him.

LXXXII. The same Historian reports, that it was in this time that *Theodosius* saw in a Dream a Bishop, who put a Crown upon his head, and invested him with the Imperial Robes; and that one of his intimate Friends, to whom he discovered this Vision, assured him that it was a certain Presage of that Grandeur to which God would advance him.

The Bishop who appeared to him, was since known for *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch*. This holy Prelate, by vertue of the last Edict of *Gratian*, was then returned to his Church, after a banishment of several years. The Confessors of Jesus Christ were seen to pass through the whole Empire, some followed by a Troop of Infidels whom they had converted, others delivered from their Chains, and bearing still upon their Bodies the glorious marks of the Torments which they had endured. They transferr'd even with honour the Relicks of those who died in their Exile.

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The greatest part were received with abundance of Joy by the People, whose Conduct and Protection they came to resume. But as the Emperor, notwithstanding all his Piety, had not Authority enough to make himself obeyed, there were some, who by the Cabals of Hereticks, underwent more Misfortunes in this time of Peace, than they had endured in the time of Persecution. Many observing their Sees to be supplied with *Arrians*, offered to share with them the Government of their Flock, upon condition they would reunite themselves to the Catholick Faith and Communion. Others were even ready to yield up their Dignity entire, in order to establish the Peace and Unity of the Church.

LXXXII. Amongst so many holy Bishops, it seemed that God had made choice of the most renowned, to give *Theodosius* the first hopes of the glory to which he designed him. This Presage was suddenly accomplished. For *Gratian* having learnt that the People who inhabited along the *Rhine* were entred into *Gaul*, and moreover finding himself as it were encompassed with an inundation of *Barbarians*, who were dispersed in the Provinces of the East, resolved to associate *Theodosius* to the Empire. He considered that he must be unable himself alone to oppose so many Enemies; that a Lieutenant discharged him but of a part of his Cares; that it was convenient to have a Colleague, who should have his Wars apart, and should defend the State, as his own proper inheritance; that it would be more for his Reputation and Glory, to give one of his Empires voluntarily, than to retain it with disturbance; and that he was happy in the possession of any thing, whereby

to

to recompense a great merit in the establishment of his own repose.

LXXXIV. The Friendship and esteem which he had entertained for *Theodosius* from his Infancy, determined him still more; and the impatience which he had to go and relieve *Gaul*, where he was educated, pressed him to declare his design. But it was proper to attend the confirmation of the last Victory of *Theodosius*, to the end that his Rivals might themselves be obliged to approve his Election, after having suffered the confusion which their Calumny deserved.

This choice was so much the more glorious to *Theodosius*, inasmuch as he had not lookt after it. *Claudian.* He was even modest enough to refuse this honour, when *Gratian* offer'd it to him; and this refusal was attended with so many marks of Moderation and Sincerity, that it was easie to judge it was no vain ceremony, but a real wisdom, which made him regard, as a difficult and hazardous employment, this Dignity, wherein is sought for the most part nothing, but the repose and pleasure of commanding. *Pacat. in Paneg.*

LXXXV. About this time *Ausonius* was nominated Consul, altho absent, and regardless of factions to procure this honour. *Gratian*, after having advantag'd himself by his instructions, lost no occasion of testifying to him his acknowledgment. He raised him to the charge of *Questor*, and a little after to that of *Præfectus Prætorio*; at length he declared him Consul, and forgot nothing that he could imagine to be most obliging, and most honourable.

He

*Auson. in  
grav. act.*

He gave him for a Colleague *Olibrius Gallus*, a young man of a very noble and ancient Family: and as people were curious to know which of the two he named first; to favour *Ansonius*, without offending the other, he answered that he pretended to determine their rank, not by Birth, but Age, and the antiquity of their *Præfecture*. After that, he dispatched forthwith a Courier to *Ansonius*, to give him advice of his nomination to the Consulship, and wrote to him in these terms; "As I  
"considered some time since to create Consuls  
"for this year, I invoked the assistance of God;  
"as you know I am accustomed to do in every  
"thing I undertake, and as I know it conformable  
"to your desire. I was of opinion, that I was  
"obliged to nominate you first Consul, and that  
"God required of me this acknowledgment for  
"the good instructions I have received from you.  
"I render to you then what is your due; and  
"knowing that one can never acquit himself to-  
"wards his Father, nor towards his Master, I  
"confess that I still owe you what I have endea-  
"voured to render you. To the end that nothing  
might be wanting to the favour which he had  
done, he accompanied this Letter with a Present,  
and sent him a very glorious Robe, wherein was  
embroidered in Gold the figure of the Emperor  
*Constantinus*, his Father-in-Law. And *Ansonius* on  
his side employ'd all the force and delicacy of his  
Genius to make in Verse and Prose, the Panegy-  
rick of his August Benefactor.

LXXXVI. A few days after this action of *Gratian's*, those who were sent to the Army arrived, and reported that the defeat of the *Goths* had been  
very

## THEODOSIUS *the Great.* 79

very considerable; that the number of the dead, <sup>ibid. l. 5.</sup> and prisoners, and the quantity of spoils went beyond what *Theodosius* affirmed of them. Then his very Enemies were obliged to commend his valour and modesty, and the Emperor thought it high time to share the Empire with him.

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*The End of the First Book.*

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**THE**



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THE  
HISTORY  
OF  
*THEODOSIUS the Great.*

BOOK II.

**T**HE Army which was then in quarters *Ann. 379.*  
about *Sirmium*, had Orders to Rendez-  
vous, and upon the sixteenth day of Ja-  
nuary, *Gratian* repaired to it, accompa-  
nied with *Theodosius*, and the other Lords of his  
Court. He was conducted to the midst of the *Socrat. l.*  
Camp; the Troops being drawn round him, he *S. C. 2.*  
exposed to them the deplorable State of the Em-  
pire, the misery of the people, the weakness of  
the Armies, the irruptions of the *Germans* in *Gaul*,  
and the ravages, which so many barbarous Na-  
tions had committed in the *Eastern Provinces*. He  
represented to them that one single man could not  
sustain so many Wars at a time, nor remedy so  
many disorders. That as for him, he preferred *August de*  
the pleasure of having a faithful Collegue before *Civit. Dei.*  
the ambition of Reigning alone; and that in the  
design of making a choice, which should be advan-  
tagious to the State, and agreeable to them, he  
had cast his Eyes upon *Theodosius*. At



*Aur. Victor  
in Theod.*

At this name the Troops interrupted him, and testified their Joy by long applauses. *Gratian* continued his discourse, and after having made the Entomium of *Theodosius*, he gave him the Purple and the Crown. Then the Soldiers who had heretofore esteemed him worthy of the Empire, redoubled their acclamation; and the Officers came in multitudes to Salute the new Emperor, who being but of the Age of three and thirty years, and joyning to the strength and vigour of his Age, a great experience, and consummated Wisdom, caused them to hope for the entire reestablishment of Affairs.

*Gratian* gave him for his Division *Thrace*, and all the Provinces that *Valens* had possessed. He *Sozom. l. 7.* added thereto that Eastern part of *Illyrium*, where of *Thessalonica* was Capital, taking off from the Empire of the West, that Province, which lay exposed to the courses of the *Barbarians*, and which neither he because of his Remoteness, nor his Brother *Valentinian*, by reason of his inferior Age, could defend. A few days after this Election, the two Emperors parted. *Gratian* took the Road of *Gaul* to go and chase the *Germans*, who plundered it; and *Theodosius* marched towards *Thessalonica* to rendezvous his Army there, in order to renew a war against a formidable multitude of *Alains*, *Goths*, and *Huns*, who since his last Victory were again entred into *Thrace*, after having run through *Myfia*, and *Pannonia*. *Str. l. 4.*

II. The noise was soon dispersed, that *Theodosius* was Emperor, and that he advanced with a part of the Western Army, which *Gratian* had enforced him with. The People, whom the Unhappiness of the last Wars, and Rigor of the late Reign, had

had extreamly cast down, began to breath again. The Troops, which the Enemies had kept close in their Garisons, took heart, and made Incursions in the Country; and the Officers, who saved themselves from the last defeat, and had got themselves into strong places, were ready to appear at the first order, and to collect the scattered remains of the Roman Legions, in order to conduct them to *Theodosius*. All the Cities disposed their Deputations; and *Constantinople*, which *Valens* had sworn to destroy at his return from the war, was glad to be under the dominion of a Prince, who deserved their love; and was capable to protect them.

*Theodosius* in the mean time arrived at *Thessalonica*; where resorted immediately from all the Provinces of the Empire, those whose Rank or Duty called them to Court, and those who came to render an account of the public Affairs, or to sollicite their particular ones. There he began to do all the Functions of a great Emperor, dispersing his Orders every where, receiving Persons of Quality and Merit with Honor, and the rest with Goodness; giving Audiences at every hour, and rendering Justice indifferently to all his Subjects; refusing nothing that he could reasonably grant; adding to his favors an obliging way of doing them, and sweetning refusals by expressions of good will. So they who obtained their demands Zor. l. 4. were satisfied; and they who could not, returned at least with comfort.

III. The care he took for the satisfaction and repose of the People, did not hinder him from giving all convenient orders for preparations of war. The Chief Officers were already near his Person, the Infantry came out of their Garisons;

and the whole Army rendezvous'd in the beginning of the Spring. Altho it was not considerable in number, it was so in courage, and by the confidence it reposed in its Emperor. *Theodosius* then took the field, and advanced by great Journeys towards *Thrace*. The *Barbarians* were divided into several bodies, and without applying themselves to the siege of any place, wherein they never succeeded; they pillaged all the Country without opposition. They were armed after the *Roman* manner since the defeat of *Valens*: *Fritigern*, had taught them to rally, and to observe some Discipline, their Army encreased every day with an infinite number of their Companions, whom the noise of Victory, and the hopes of a great Booty drew from all parts. Thus they were formidable. But they had scarce any Captains. *Fritigern*, whom they had refused to obey, had abandoned them. As soon as they gave themselves to pillage, they no longer observed any order; and this multitude, that came to joyn them, served but to encrease the confusion, and to cause divisions amongst them for the sharing of the Prizes they had made.

IV. *Theodosius* entred into *Thrace*: He defeated immediately some Parties of the Enemy, who were separated from the body of the Army; and having learnt of the Prisoners the place, where was encamped the greatest part of these *Barbarians*, he thought he might easily subdue them, if he could surprize them before they were advertised of his March. He commanded *Modarius*, Prince of the Blood Royal of the *Scythians*, who was in the Service of the Emperors, and by his fidelity and valor had deserved the first employments in  
their

their Armies, to advance with some Horse in order to observe the Enemy, whilst he marched himself with the utmost diligence.

A few days after, *Modarius* returned, and gave *Theodosius* notice, that the Enemy was not far off; that they were encamped in Plains, commanded by Ascents, which it would be easy to possess; that their Camp was defended but by one Intrenchment of some Chariots ill placed, which might be forced without any difficulty; that there was a great number of men, but few Soldiers; that in all likelihood they would not quit a Post, where they found all sorts of commodity to subsist on; and in a word not suspicious of any thing, but thinking the Emperor at a great distance from them, they might be oppressed, before they would be in a condition to defend themselves.

The Emperor was extremely pleased to hear this News, and sent back *Modarius* with a great Detachment, to seize upon those Posts he should judge necessary, whether to prevent the *Goths* from being informed, or to fight them with advantage if they were disposed for battle. Pretty near the Camp, and almost in prospect of the Enemy, there was a little Hill which extended a good way; and towards the middle of its brow left a space of land compact, and large enough to lodge a reasonable number of Troops. *Modarius* in the night conveyed his there, without being discovered. He possessed himself of all the passages, and knowing that the *Goths*; without fear or caution were asleep in the Plain; he expected with impatience the arrival of the Emperor to charge them. At day-break *Theodosius* being arrived, viewed himself the place, and forthwith disposed himself for an onset. He commanded the Soldiers to quit their  

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heavy



heavy Arms, and to keep nothing but the Sword and Buckler. He gave orders to the Captains to extend the ranks, to leave nothing behind them, and to make the Army appear more numerous. He exhorted them all to fight with courage, without obliging themselves too much to the accustomed forms of warfare, in an affair whose event depended as much upon haste, as upon order.

V. The Goths in the mean time were in great tranquility; some were just come into the Camp loaded with booty; others were gone to make incursions in the Country, and to gather up the remains of the other days Pillage. Many fatigued with the courses they had made in the Night, were lain down here and there, and the most part buried in Wine, slept in peace, in the midst of the provisions they had heaped up. Their Captains, men of little experience and power, notwithstanding the advice they had received of the appearance of Roman Troops, could not be perswaded that they would come to attack them. Even those that had seen them, took them not for the entire Army, but for a party come out of the adjacent places, who did not deserve to have Arms taken up against them, and who would soon enclose themselves in Garrisons.

They were in this condition, when they heard the noise of the Trumpets, and crys of the Soldiers, which was the Signal of the onset. *Modarins* descended from the hill with the Foot which he commanded, enlarging his batallions, as he advanced in the Plain, and marched directly to the head of the Camp. *Promatius*, one of the Lieutenant-Generals of the Emperor, went to the Left with part of the Horse; and the Emperor with

with the rest coasting the hill to the Right, approached the Enemies to take them in the Flank. The *Goths*, who saw this Army pouring down upon them on a sudden, which their consternation made them think innumerable, judged very well that their ruine was inevitable: Their Captains were sensible of their fault, when it was no longer time to repair it; terror and confusion were dispersed through the whole Camp. Some running to their arms, lost their lives before they were in a condition to dispute them: Others to avoid the danger which they saw, met with another which they saw not, and found the enemies employed in every place. The number of those that fled, hindered them from flying. In a few hours all these *Barbarians* were either killed, or made prisoners. They took their Wives and Children, and four thousand Chariots, which served to carry them in their Marches. Thus all *Thrace* was once more delivered from the desolation, to which those foreign Nations had reduced it.

VI. The noise of this defeat being spread abroad, the *Alains* and *Goths* who plundered the other Provinces, stopt short, and made proposals of Peace. They would have been glad to have revenged the death of their companions; but as they knew the Emperour was coming to them, they submitted to what he pleased, and signed a Treaty, which they designed to observe no longer, than the first occasion they had to infringe it. *Theodosius* of his side granted them more than they demanded; for he preferred an honest Peace before a glorious War; and did not think it proper to expose the few Troops he had to doubtful fights, against enemies who had overcome the

*Socr. l. 7.*

6. 4.

*Ro-*

Romans, and suffered themselves not always to be surprized.

All things being thus regulated, *Theodosius* visited the places, reinforced the Garrisons, and gave orders for the security and ease of those Provinces, which were almost consumed by War; then he took the Road of *Thessalonica*, to pass the Winter there, and to provide from thence for the most urgent necessities of the State. The Joy, which these first successes of his Reign gave to him, was still encreased by the News of *Gratian's* being no less fortunate than himself; that having joined to his Troops, those that were commanded by *Merobandes* King of the French, he had attacked the Germans, conquered them, and chased them out of Gaul; that he had cut in pieces the greatest part, and reduced the rest to shut themselves within their Country, from whence they could not come in haste to trouble the repose of People subject to the Empire. *Theodosius* rendered thanks to God in a solemn manner for his Victories, and for those of a Prince whose glory affected him, as much as his own.

*Socrus. ib.  
Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 6.  
Zoz. l. 4.*

VII. As soon as he was discharged of the cares of war, he thought he should be unworthy of the favors, which he had received from Heaven, and the protection which he expected from thence, if he made it not his utmost application to establish the Catholic Faith, whereof he had made profession all his Life. In order thereunto he resolved to pull down the *Arrians*, which his Predecessors had set up, and which at that time filled the whole East with confusion and disorder. The attempt was difficult, and to succeed therein there was need

need of much Resolution and Wisdom; as well as an exemplary piety.

VIII. This Sect arose under the Reign of *Constantine the Great*, and occasioned against the Church a sort of Persecution, more dangerous than that of the Tyrants; from which it was just freed. *Arrius* was the Author of it. He was born in that part of *Libya*, which is adjoyning to *Egypt*; and went to *Alexandria* in hopes of making himself known there, and to advance himself to the first charges of the Church. As he was ingenious, learned, and eloquent, with some appearance of Vertue, the Patriarchs of this City thought he might be serviceable to them, and raised him soon to Orders, others to Ecclesiastical Ministry. But they soon observed that it was an unquiet, presumptuous, and untractable Spirit, ready to side with the good or evil Party, according as it suited with his Fortune, or his Pride. In his younger days he threw himself into the Schism of *Meletius* Bishop of *Lycopolis*, in the Country of *Thebais*. He left it, and returned again. At last he reconciled himself with the Patriarch *Achillas*, and feigned to be his Friend, in order to become his Successor. Then covering his Ambition with the veil of an affected Modesty, winning some by a fawning behavior, deceiving others by an outward gravity and composedness, whilst he aspired secretly to the Bishopric.

But his hopes were frustrated. The See came to be vacant, and the merit of Saint *Alexander* prevailed over the intregues of *Arrius*. He was vexed at it; and the envy which possessed him, made him regard him as his Enemy, whom he should have respected as his Father. He resolved to  
ruine



ruine him ; and being unable to exclaim against his Life, which was very innocent, and exemplary, he attempted to assail his Doctrine, altho it was exceeding pure and wholesom. He accused him, as of a Crime, for sustaining, *That Jesus Christ was equal to his Father, eternal and immutable, as well as he, and had but one Essence* : After having reproached him with this Truth, as a Heresy, he proposed himself his own Heresy as a Truth ; and began to publish, *That the Son of God was but a Creature. That the word had been made out of nothing ; that his nature was mutable, and changeable ; that he was the Son of God but by Adoption, and that if he was called God, it was not to be understood that he was so by Nature, but only by Participation*. As he was learned in the Scriptures, and above all a dexterous Logician, he collected from the sacred books all that might favor his Opinions, and wrapt up the question in so many difficulties, and gave to his Error so much probability, that several went over to his Party. The Patriarch endeavoured to bring him over by his admonitions, his reasons, and his threatnings ; but finding that these ways of sweetness and exhortation served but to encourage him the more, and give him more opportunity to divulge his impiety, he excommunicated him in a Council of an Hundred Bishops, whom he had assembled for that purpose out of *Egypt and Libya*.

This blow astonished him, but not pulled him down. He retired to *Palestine*, from whence he wrote to the Emperor ; he went himself to find him, and in a little time got some Protectors and a great number of Disciples, who fixed themselves to him, some through the sole love of Novelty, others through that false Compassion for a man oppressed ; many were gained by his persuasions  
and

and careſſes. *Conſtantine* being informed that the Biſhops and People began to ſeparate, and that Synods were aſſembled of both Parties, was afraid of the conſequence of this diviſion. He wrote from *Nicomedia*, which was at that time the uſual reſidence of the Eaſtern Emperors, a common letter to *St. Alexander* and *Arrius*, to exhort them to reunite themſelves, and to agree upon a matter which appeared of little importance for the Faith, and which would diſturb the peace of the Church. *Oſius* Biſhop of *Cordova* in *Spain*, who was by chance near the Emperor, had orders to go into *Aegypt*, to endeavour for an accommodation, and acquitted himſelf of his Commiſſion with much fidelity, but with little ſucceſs.

To reduce this obſtinate Sect, and determine the point of Doctrine in diſpute, it was neceſſary to come to an *Universal Council*, that ſhould eſtabliſh truth, and condemn the error by a deciſive judgment. *Nice*, one of the chief Cities of *Biſhonia*, was choſen for the place of this Aſſembly; the Biſhops from all parts of the World were invited thither; they arrived there at the appointed time, to the number of threehundred and eighteen. *Conſtantine* himſelf was there, to be a Witneſs, and as Mediator of the Peace, and reunion of the Church. *Arrius* and his Partifans were called; They were heard, convicted, and condemned. The Divinity of Jeſus Chriſt was acknowledged; and to take from the *Arians* all pretence of diſguiſing their error under ambiguous terms, they were obliged to make uſe of the word *Conſubſtantial* in their Profeſſions of Faith, and to ſign the conſubſtantiality of the word. This expreſſion ſince this time, was as a certain mark, which diſtinguiſhed Catholics from thoſe who were

were not so, or were, but not sincerely; and the Fathers of the Council inserted it in their Creed.

*Arius* and the Bishops who protected him, after many difficulties feigned to submit themselves to the decisions of the Council, and to avoid the troubles they were threatned with, publicly abjured their Heresy. But they abandoned not their enterprize, and expected a favorable Season to disperse again abroad the poison, which they had been forced to shut up in their hearts.

In the mean time they drew to their Party those who might assist them with their Credit, or their Favour. They made their submission to be thought sincere by the Emperor, in order to the more easy abusing of his goodness; and whilst they revered in appearance the Faith of *Nice*, they sought to ruine by calumnys and false imputations, those who were defenders of it. At length by the applications of *Eusebius*, Bishops of *Nicomedia* who was become the chief of their Party, by the credit of the Princess *Constantia*, the Emperors Sister, and by reiterated protestations of fidelity and obedience, they came to be considered as Orthodox.

*Arius* himself, being brought as it were in triumph by his Friends, to be received in the Communion of the Church at *Constantinople*, if he had not suddenly departed an unquiet and criminal Life, by a terrible and shameful Death.

Altho these Heretics were for the most part passionate and seditious Spirits, yet they durst not rise, and disturb openly the peace of the Church, as long as *Constantine the Great* ruled the Empire; for although he had sometimes a little too much easiness, yet he had much zeal for Religion, and as it was not impossible to surprize him, so it was dangerous if he perceived himself to be so. Thus they

they were obliged to be cautious of this Prince, who might be ignorant of the truth, but who was not able to suffer an injustice. But when they saw themselves fortified by the Authority of *Constantinus* his Son, and Successor, they kept no longer any bounds. They not only published their false Doctrine, but they oppressed even those who had the courage to oppose them. Their insolence extended as far as to chase the most holy Prelates from the first Sees of the East, to proscribe even the Patriarchs, and to take away the liberty of Votes in Councils, where the Emperor came in person to be an Accuser of the Saints, and said aloud, that his Will ought to stand for a Rule and Decision in the Church.

*Arban. ad*

*Sol. p. 831.*

The Reign of *Valens* was not less favourable to them. They exercised in his name their usual Violences. They obtained Letters of him to the Governours of Provinces to persecute the Catholics. They went even to the farthest part of the deserts of *Thebais* to chase from thence those solitary persons, who led a life perfectly Celestial. The persecution was bloody, and under a Christian Prince there were almost as many Martyrs, as under Infidel Tyrants. Such were the beginnings and progress of this Heresy.

IX. Albeit it was not only difficult, but likewise dangerous in a new Reign to assault a powerful Sect, that had been of a long time accustomed to rule; Notwithstanding *Theodosius*, considering that the first duty of Sovereigns is to make him reign, by whom they reign; and suspecting but with reason the fidelity of those who had revolted against the Church, formed a design to bring them over with sweetness, or to repress them with Authority.



thority. He went to publish his first Edicts at  
*Theſſalonica.*

*Claudian.  
 de laud. Se-  
 ren.*

*Aurel. Vi-  
 ſus Theod.*

The Empreſs *Flaccilla* his wife whom he tenderly loved, *Thermantia*, and *Serena* his Nieces, whom he had adopted ſince the death of *Honorius* his brother, were lately arrived there. Some of his friends were obſerved every day to come thither, particularly thoſe who had been aſſiſtant to him in the time of his diſgrace. He had invited them to come from *Spain* into the Eaſt, to the end he might reward them, and raiſe them to employments. His gratitude encreaſed with his power, and as ſoon as he was Emperour, he remembered all the ſervices he had received when he was but a private man, and forgot nothing but the injuries which he had ſuffered.

*Secret. l. 5.  
 c. 6.  
 Socr. l. 4.  
 c. 7.*

*Ambroſ. Ep.  
 28. 22.*

The Joy he conceived at the ſight of perſons who were ſo dear to him, was ſoon diſturbed, for ſcarce was he come to *Theſſalonica*, but he fell dangerously ill: He immediately diſpoſed himſelf to receive Baptiſm, and to dye like a Chriſtian. As he had a great affection for the Orthodox Faith of the Trinity, and was afraid of giving in this occaſion any advantage to the Hereticks, be fore he ſent for *Aſcole* Biſhop of that City, he informed himſelf of his Manners, and the Faith which he profeſſed. He learnt that he was a Prelate of a conſummated Vertue; that he had been educated from his Infancy in the Monafteries of *Achaia*; that upon the reputation of his Sanctity, the people of *Macedon* had taken him from his Solitude, to make him their Arch-biſhop; that they had ordained him very young, without having regard to the rules of Age; that he had always been inviolably fix'd to the doctrine of the Church; that *St. Baſil* had honoured him with his

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his friendship, and that Pope *Damasus* had a particular esteem for him.

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*Theodosius* was very glad to fall into the hands of so holy a man. He ordered him to be called; and having been farther satisfied by himself, that he professed the Apostolick Faith, confirmed by the Council of *Nice*; he demanded of him, with respect, the Sacrament of Regeneration. He immediately received it with an exemplary piety, and esteemed himself more glorious in becoming a member of the Church, than in being Master of a part of the World. Then he thought himself obliged to re-establish Religion through the whole Empire, and God blessing his intentions, restored him in a few days to a perfect health. He conversed several times with *Arcadius* upon the means of executing his design. He instructed himself in the chief points of the doctrines in contest, of the difference of the new Sects, of the Faith, of the Bishops, and the state of the principal Churches of the Eastern Empire.

August. de  
Civ. Dei.

X. After having thus examined all things, he thought it prudent to bring Men over gradually, and to begin with Laws, which should make them know his Will, and fear his Justice. Then he published an Edict dated at *Thessalonica*, whereby he ordered the People of his obedience to follow that Faith which the Church had received of the Apostles, and which was taught by Pope *Damasus*, and *Peter* of *Alexandria*, a Prelate of an Apostolical Sanctuary, and enjoined them to confess and acknowledge one Divinity, in the Trinity of the Persons of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, pursuant to the Doctrine of the Gospel, and the ancient Tradition of the Church. He declares af-

terwards

terwards, that only those who should profess this Faith, were to be taken for Catholics; and that those who should reject it, were to be treated as infamous and senseless Hereticks, who besides the Punishments they deserved from the Divine Justice, were likewise to expect from him Chastisements suitable to the enormity of their Crime.

XI. He addressed this Edict to the People of Constantinople, to the end, that it might be forthwith performed in this Imperial City, which was as it were the Theatre of Heresie, and from thence might pass with the more expedition into the other Cities of the Empire. It was about this time that *Maximus* came to cast himself at the feet of *Theodosius*, entreating him to maintain him in the See of Constantinople, which he had lately usurped. *Maximus* was of *Alexandria*, by profession a Cynick Philosopher, of a moderate knowledge, an irregular life, and profound dissimulation. His Parents had brought him up in the Christian Religion, wherein he was notwithstanding but slightly instructed. He had spent part of his Youth in running from City to City, to acquire Wealth or Reputation, and had been every where cast down, where he endeavoured to fix himself; and altho he was expert at disguising himself, he could not avoid being surprized in actions, which occasioned his banishment to the Desert of *Oasis*, where he remained four years entire. At last seeing himself without honor, and without recovery, spurred on by his ambition and his misery, he went to Constantinople with the rash design of usurping that See. He declared presently, that he was of a Family illustrious by its Nobility, and still more by its Piety; that his Father was dead for the defence of

of the Faith; that his Sisters were the example of Christian Virgins in *Alexandria*. He boasted that he had himself suffered a tedious exile for Jesus Christ, making that the glory of Religion, which had been the punishment of his crimes. The Fable of these pretended Martyrs, supported by so many premeditated circumstances, and some appearances of an affected piety, got him the esteem and friendship of all the Catholics in *Constantinople*. Altho he was dressed after the Cynic mode, which Habit was not becoming a Christian, this outside was even excused him, so much were they possessed of the bottom of his Merit and Vertue.

*Gregory of Nazianzum* had at that time the care of the Church of *Constantinople*. He had been sent thither about a year before by the Council of *An-  
nich*, according to some, or else had been invited by the People and the Bishops of *Thrace*, as he seems to observe himself. He immediately exercised by commission the pastoral Functions in that Church; where he revived the almost extinguish'd Faith, by the example of his Life to the force of his Sequence; and re-uniting by his cares the remains of a fold, which the late tempests had dispersed. At the number of Catholics being in a little time considerably encreased, they chose him for their Pastor. The Patriarch of *Alexandria*, confirmed this Election by his Letters and his Vote; and sent him the Marks of his Dignity. Notwithstanding that *Gregory* had refused to accept this Dignity, alledging that he could not be chosen but by a Council, they did not cease to look upon him, as their Archbishop. He himself being touched at the testimonies of their Affection, redoubled their Zeal, and for-  
not nothing that he thought capable to establish the Faith; and fervency of Religion. The Here-

Anno 380.

*Greg. Naz.  
Carm. de v. 2  
ta juu.*



An. 380. tics being unable to resist his reasons, made several attempts against his Person, but as he had convinced them by his discourse, so he edified them by his patience.

He began to enjoy the fruit of his labors, when *Maximus* was presented to him. *Gregory* received him not only with civility, but also with respect, as a Confessor of Jesus Christ: he listened to the false history of his life, and judging of another by himself, he believed it. He kept him in his house, let him partake of his Table, and discovered to him his study, and designs; and supposing it was honorable and advantageous to have in a reviving Church a Man, taken for a Martyr, he proposed him for an example, and recited publicly a discourse, which he had made in his commendation.

This Impostor on his side got more and more into the favors of this holy Prelate, by a dexterous insinuation, by frequent invectives against the *Arrians*, and by an Air of Piety, which appeared to be sincere. In the mean time he managed his intrigues with privacy. He engaged therein a Priest of *Constantinople*, to whom the Elevation and Merit of the Archbishop were become insupportable. They turned so well the Spirit of the Patriarch of *Alexandria*, by the powerful correspondencies they had near his Person, that he entered into the interests of *Maximus*, whether it was that he had a mind to favor his Country-man, or that he was afraid of giving occasion to the aggrandizing of the See of *Constantinople*, if he put in a man of extraordinary Reputation, or that he believed the Election, which he had but lately approved of, had not been done according to form.

It was then by his orders, that seven Bishops were chosen to go and support the Party of this Philosopher, under pretence of conducting the Fleet, which conveyed Corn every year from *Egypt* to *Constantinople*: As soon as they were arrived, *Maximus* encouraged them by his discourse and presents. He won an Ecclesiastic of the Isle of *Thasse*, who came to buy some Marble for his Church, and borrowed his Money of him to distribute it amongst the Mariners, whom he had resolved to make use of. There remained nothing more, than to take a time for the Ordination. The *Egyptian* Bishops at their arrival, had refused to communicate with the *Arrians*, and had united with the Catholics. *Gregory* had received them in his house, with much civility and respect. As the entrance of the Church was free to them at all hours, they came there one night, when this Prelate was carried sick to a Country-house near the City: They began the ceremony of the consecration of *Maximus*, in presence of a great number of Mariners, for the most part strangers, who represented the people. But the day having surprized them, and the Clergy running up and down, the whole quarter was stirr'd up; the people assemble, the Magistrates are called, and *Maximus* is driven away, with all his accomplices, who saved themselves in disorder in the house of a certain Flute-master, where they concluded their Sacrilegious ordination.

The indignity of this action. which was matter of horror to the very Hereticks, gave occasion to enquire after the life of this Impostor. People began to undeceive themselves of the Martyr he boasted of, and they discovered the crimes which he had the dexterity to conceal till then: which

*Greg. Naz.*

*Carm. d:*

*vita sua.*

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caused him to be shamefully banished from the City.

XII. This ill success did not astonish him. After having wandered some time in *Thrace*, he went, accompanied with the Bishops who had consecrated him, to find *Theodosius*, to prepossess him, if he could, in his favour. But *Ascle*, to whom Pope *Damasus* had often sent concerning the affairs of the Church of *Constantinople*, was already advertized of all that had passed, and had informed the Emperor: *Maximus* being arrived with his companions, and entreating him to maintain him by his Authority, this Prince replied with indignation, That he was informed of his Cabals; That he hated all those who disturbed the peace of the Church, and hindred the progress of Religion; That he knew how to chastise him and his Partisans, as they deserved, if they had ever the insolence to pursue their attempt. They would have justified themselves, but the Emperor interrupted them, and sent them away, without the trouble of hearing them, or seeing them any more.

XIII. Whilst *Theodosius*, who was now in a fair way of Recovery, took so much care for the advancement of Religion, he got his Army together, and prepared to take the Field, as soon as he should have regained his strength. The *Goths*, upon the information they had received of his sickness by their Deserters, and the Hostages they had of his train, made a mock of the last Treaty. They were so far from leaving the territories of the Empire, as they had promised, that they called in to their assistance some new Troops of *Barbarians*,  
and

and were more severe in pillaging than before : Those of their Nation, who had entred in great numbers into the Emperors pay, secretly advised them of their contributing towards an easie passage into the Provinces. Terroure was dispersed amongst the people ; the Souldiery receiving from the Court but slow, and undetermined orders, could not tell what to resolve on. Thus all things remained as it were immovable, by the indisposition of a Prince, who governed only by himself, and was not at that time in a capacity to act.

Upon the first noise of this renewing of the War, Couriers were suddenly dispatched to the Emperor *Gratian*, to give him advice of the danger wherein *Theodosius* was ; and to solicit him to send with expedition a considerable relief towards *Macedon*. Some Officers of the Army, with what Troops they could assemble, in the mean time opposed the enemies, and disputed the passes with them. But the number of these *Barbarians* encreasing continually, they made themselves masters every where. As soon as they had received the succours they expected, they plundered the frontiers, and threw themselves into *Thessaly* and *Macedon*. *Theodosius* made his Army march that way, and went there himself, as soon as his health would permit him. After he had sent to view the enemies, notwithstanding he was so inferior in number, he advanced with a design to fight them ; but he was prevented, and whatsoever cautions he had taken, he saw himself on a sudden betrayed by the *Goths*, whom he had retained in his service.

This Prince, after the conclusion of the Treaty of the preceding year, considering the weakness of the Empire at that time, and judging that he could



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not improve it without the assistance of those very people, who had occasioned its decay, made it to be proclaimed in their Camps, that he desired to live with them in good intelligence, and that he would receive all those who would come into his Armies. These *Barbarians* came in multitudes to inroll themselves in the service of the *Romans*, and had obliged themselves before by execrable Oaths to take all occasions of doing them harm, in making an appearance of serving them. *Theodosius* thought he had engaged them to him by caresses and liberalities: notwithstanding being afraid lest their number should prevail, which already exceeded that of his own Troops, he made several detachments of them. He sent a party into *Egypt*, under the conduct of *Hormisdas*, a *Persian* by Original, Son of a Captain of that name, who assisted in the War of *Julian* against the *Persians*. He distributed the rest in places, where there was a *Roman* Garrison, with orders to the Governours to observe them. The War being come unlook'd for, those who seemed to be most faithful, were made choice of, and composed a Body to serve in the Field. These being resolved to accomplish their Oath, and becoming more affectionate to their Country-men, as they approached them, gave them information of all that passed in the Emperors Army, and promised to joyn with them, if they would come to assault him by night in his Camp.

XIV. The *Goths*, upon this advice, prepared themselves for battel, and began to march. *Theodosius* on his side being advertized of their design, intrenched himself, put his men in order of battel, visited the quarters, particularly that of the  
strangers,

strangers, whom he found more gay and pleasant than the rest, and more disposed in appearance to defend themselves well; and after having kindled fires throughout the Camp, and given all necessary orders, he attended the Enemy. The Night advanced, and the *Barbarians* taking the advantage of their number, and dividing themselves into several bodies, whereof each was almost equal to the whole Army of the Emperor, extended themselves in the Plain in tolerable order, and came with fearful crys to thunder upon all sides almost at the same time; but they found every where more resistance than they had imagined, and were repulsed with great loss of theirs. The strength of the attack fell upon the Emperors Quarter, which they knew either by the signal that the Traytors had given them, or by the great number of fires, which they themselves had observed. They hoped to overwhelm this Prince, or at least to hold him employed there, whilst they laid a snare for him on another side. They gave several charges, but they lost so many men, that they were at length disheartened.

XV. *Theodosius* saw things in this condition, when there arose a great noise towards the Quarter of the Strangers, which made him apprehend some disorder. He learnt at the same time, that the *Goths* of his Army had joyned the Enemies, and that he would be enclosed, if he was not cautious of himself. He detached immediately some Squadrons to seize upon certain Posts, which might secure his retreat; and as he knew that a party of the Legions were at hand, blows with these Rebels, he ordered his Cavalry to advance in haste, which fell upon them so briskly and so opportunely,

ly, and withal made so great a slaughter of them, that there remained but few, who received no Recompence for their Rebellion. Those that supported them, had well nigh the same Fortune. But at length the *Romans* could not make such great efforts without much loss; and the *Goths*, whose number continually encreased, had forced the Trenches in several places. *Theodosius*, before he came to be overwhelmed by the multitude, rallied his weakened Troops, who began for the most part to give way. He charged himself with the care of making his Retreat, amusing the Enemies by detachments made on purpose, turning head from time to time to assault those who pursued him in disorder, till he had gained the advanced Posts, which his men were possessed of, and had secured the remains of his Army.

This battel might have proved entirely fatal to the Empire, if the *Goths* had known how to reap the advantage of their Victory; but they disbanded themselves immediately. Those who had fought least, were the first that run to plunder; and those who pursued the Enemy, were afraid of losing their part of the booty, and returned speedily to the Camp. Thus a retreat was made without much difficulty. *Thessaly* and *Macedon* in the mean time remained exposed to the insults and pillages of these *Barbarians*, who ravaged the Country, and left the Cities undisturbed, because the Emperor had thrown some Troops therein, and they were in hopes of drawing from thence considerable contributions. After they had ruined all this Country, as if their Avarice and Revenge had been satisfied, they began to lament so many brave Soldiers, whom they had lost in battel, and their Victory appeared to them not so great as before.

fore. They found themselves in small number ; and thought the Emperor was every hour at their backs to assault them.

XVI. In the mean while *Theodosius*, who was retired towards *Thessalonica*, formed a body of Troops sufficient to oppose their progress. He had received in his way some Recruits. A Party of the Legions of *Egypt*, which he had sent for, came to joyn him, and he was in a condition to take the field again in a few days, when *Rusticus* arrived from the Western Provinces, to satisfy him of the concernment of *Gratian*, and his whole Court for his indisposition, and their joy for his recovery. The Journey of this Officer had been tedious, because he had passed through *Italy*, and stopt at *Rome* to receive Baptism. There he had received new orders, and came with Letters from Pope *Damasus*, and the Emperor *Gratian*. The first wrote to *Theodosius*, to thank him for the protection he gave the Catholics, and to beg of him to establish in the Church of *Constantinople* an Orthodox Bishop, with whom might be preserved Peace and Communion. The second gave him advice, that he sent him a considerable assistance ; that he would have conducted them himself, if the affairs of the Empire would have suffered him ; but that he had pickt out his choicest Troops, and his best Captains to command them ; that they were upon March, and had orders to repair with speed to the confines of the two Empires, where they might know the course they were to take.

*Theodosius* was wonderfully pleased to learn this news ; and a little while after, he was informed, that the Auxillary Troops were arrived upon the Frontiers of *Illyrium*. *Bandon* and *Arbogastes*,  
Frenchmen



Frenchmen by birth, Captains of great Reputation, very affectionate to the *Romans*, and very skilful in the profession of War, who were the chief of this expedition, sent two of their principal Officers to Court, to know what they were to do. The Emperor dispatched to them forthwith Persons of credit and intelligence, to acquaint them with the posture of affairs, and to get them to approach towards *Macedon*, where he was resolved to come and join them. Upon which these two Generals advanced by great journeys, and happily fell upon some Parties of the Enemy, whom they cut in pieces. *Theodosius* at the same time began his March.

XVII. Then there arose a consternation in the Army of the *Barbarians*, who believed that they were going to be overwhelmed, and that all the Forces of the East and West were united in order to fall upon them. The presence of the Emperor, the approach of two great Captains, the defeat of some of their Party, all astonished them. They assembled together, and fearing to be surprized in *Thessaly*, and *Macedon*, where two Armies came to thunder upon them, they fled into *Thrace*. But being unable to subsist there by reason of the destruction they had made the preceding years, and not questioning but they should be pursued, they sent Deputies to *Theodosius*, humbly to sue for Peace.

XVIII. Albeit they were as yet in a state of fighting, they consented to be treated as if subdued; and offered to retire into their own Country, or to serve the Empire; promising to accomplish faithfully all the conditions that should be laid upon them.

them. The affair was put under deliberation. *Baudon* and *Arbogastes*, who were near the Emperor, advised the extirpation of these *Barbarians*, and represented to him that they were irreconcilable Enemies to the Empire; that they sued for Peace, only when they were incapable of making War; that the *Danube* was a Barrier, which they had accustomed themselves to leap over; that their past infidelity ought to serve as a caution for the future, and that it was for his repose, and that of the State, to destroy a Nation always disturbing to the Emperors, whether in serving them, or making war against them.

Others sustained on the contrary, that it was better to prefer a certain Peace before an uncertain Victory; that it was not humane to reject the submissions of the Enemy, nor safe to expose themselves to their despair; that they would be more quiet on the other side of the *Danube*, when they should be forced to repass it; that it was not Policy in the present Conjunctions to neglect the service of this Nation, and that it would be an easy matter to be cautious of their Treasons. In a word, that the Empire was a Body grown feeble by the long Wars, and could not possibly recover itself, but by Intervals of Peace.

XIX. *Theodosius* praised the resolution of the first, and followed the counsel of the second. He granted the *Barbarians* a Peace. The Conditions were, that they should lay down their Arms, and swear never to resume them up against the Empire; that they should send the Chief of their Captains in Hostage; that they should immediately leave the Provinces of the Empire, whose Frontiers they

they should defend against other People; that they should furnish out a certain number of chosen Troops, to be distributed into all the Bodies of the *Roman* Army; and that the Emperor should also protect them, and look upon them as his Friends, and his Allies. The *Goths* accepted these Conditions, and began to execute the Treaty in reality.

XX. In the mean time, the Ordinance of *Theodosius* in favour of the Catholick Faith, had been published in *Constantinople*, where it had produced very different effects. Those who professed the Faith of *Nice*, took courage, and united themselves more strictly with *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, whom they regarded as their Pastor. They run in greater throngs to his Sermons, and urged him often to make use of the Authority of the Prince, and to demand of the *Arrians*, the Churches which they had usurped: But as the Edict did not expressly bear this restitution, and that it was not yet time to touch that Point, the Saint moderated their Zeal, and exhorted them to attend the Emperor's conclusion of what he had begun.

The greatest part of the Officers and Magistrates of the City, who favoured the Hereticks before, were of opinion that they ought to accommodate themselves to the time, and respect the Religion of the Prince. But the *Arrians* proclaimed their resentments in every Encounter. The news of the Baptism of *Theodosius* had much alarmed them. They gloried in the honour of baptizing the Emperors of the East till now; and as if it had been a right of Prescription for the time to come, they complained that *Ascle* had administered this Sacrament to *Theodosius*, which *Eusebius*

## THEODOSIUS the Great.

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*Sebus* of *Nicomedia* had administred to *Constantine* the Great, *Euzoius* of *Antioch* to *Constantius*, and *Endoxius* of *Constantinople* to *Valens*. They well foresaw the consequences of this Action.

But afterwards when they heard published a Law, which disgraced them and condemned them, they were like furious persons; they complained highly that they were dishonoured without a cause, and fell upon *Gregory* of *Nazianzum*, who without making use of the advantages of the time, and the protection of the Prince, opposed to their Violences nothing but Remonstrances and Prayers. They proceeded to that excess of fury, that they massacred at Noon-day a reverend old Man, who was just returned from Exile, where he had been sent under the Reign of *Valens* for the defence of the Faith. After which they observed no Bounds, abusing the Catholicks, to deprive them of all hopes of being restored, and rising up against the Magistrates, to terrify the Emperor; and to make him fear a general Revolt, if he undertook to ruine a Party which his Predecessors had so firmly established.

XXI. *Theodosius* was informed of these disorders, and wisely dissembled, till he was in a condition to rectify them. He pressed the *Barbarians* to execute the Treaty, and to repass the *Danube*, which they performed in a little time. Then he disbanded the Auxiliaries, after having distributed Rewards to the Officers and Soldiers, as if they had fought. He gave so many marks of esteem and good will to the two Generals, that they returned with the sole regret of not finding an opportunity to expose their lives for him. At the same time he sent an Embassy to the Emperor

*Gratian*,

*This at  
Rome not  
admitted  
But its  
Doubtless  
the truth  
is declared*



An. 380. *Gratian*, to give him an account of the affairs of the East, and to render him thanks for the care he had taken towards his assistance in this War, and to help him to preserve that Empire, which he had so generously given him.

All things being thus composed, this Prince gave orders for the fortifying of the Frontier places, gave Quarters of refreshment to his Army, where in he incorporated those chosen Troops, which the *Goths* had furnished him with; and after he had secured the adjacent Provinces from the insults of the Enemy, he took the Road of *Constantinople*. As he foresaw he should have to do with obstinate, and seditious Spirits, he thought it proper to march with a part of his Troops, and upon the twenty fourth day of *November* he was received in his Imperial City, where they had prepared for him not only a Magnificent entrance, as for a new Emperor, but also a Triumph, as Conqueror of the *Barbarians*. Some days passed in the reception of the different bodies of the City, who came to salute him, and in giving those pressing orders, which are necessary in all new establishments.

*Idat. Mar-*  
*cell. Com. in*  
*Chron.*  
*Chron.*  
*Sozom. l. 5.*  
*Sozom. l. 4.*

XXII. As the affair of Religion was the most considerable, and ought perhaps to be regulated one of the first, it was expected what the Success would be. The two Parties, as it happens for the most part in divisions; observing all the motions of the Prince, to draw from thence conjectures upon their Interests. The *Arrians* seeing him appear with so much grandeur, whose Law they had despised, expected to be used as they deserved. Altho' they were afraid to come near him, yet they could not dispence themselves from

going

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Greg. Naz.  
Carm. de  
vita sua.

XXIII. *Theodosius*, without seeming much concerned at these Controversies, stay'd for a convenient time to execute his design. He judg'd that to re-establish the Orthodox Faith, it was most proper to begin with *Constantinople*, which was the common place of the East and West, and as it were the Center, where the extremities of the World

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world re-unite, and from whence the Faith would afterwards easily communicate itself to all the parts of the Empire. But the Enterprize was not without difficulty. This City had been founded by a Catholick Emperor, and instructed in the Faith by two of the holy Bishops of that Age. It had not long enjoyed the fruits of the Peace, which that Prince had there maintained, nor of the instructions which those Prelats had given there. The Emperors being turned *Arrians* at the solicitation of their Pastors who were already so, and the temporal Authority uniting with the spiritual for the destroying of the Faith, there hapned in a little time a wonderful Revolution. The Clergy followed the Doctrine of the Archbishops, the Court framing itself to the Religion of the Prince, and the People was drawn by the example of both. Those who persisted in the ancient Faith were contented to bewail in private, or else were dispersed by the Persecutions.

During these Troubles, divers Sects were established in this Capital of the Empire, where every Novelty found always Partisans. The *Macedonians* there made a Body, and a separate Communion. The *Apollinarists* held their Assemblies there in peace. The *Novatians* had publick Churches there. The *Catholicks* alone had neither the means nor liberty to assemble. They made from time to time some endeavors to raise themselves, but they were immediately oppressed. This oppression had continued for the space of 40 years, when Gregory of Nazianzum was sent thither. As he was under the protection of Theodosius, whose Rescript he carried, they durst not persecute him; but not being able to obtain a Church for him and his, he made in the house of Nicobulus, his Kinsman

Socrat. l. 5. c. 8.

Greg. Naz.

Orat. 44.

Sozom. l. 4.

c. 25.

Ruffin. l. 1.

c. 23.

Greg. Carm.

l. p. 511.



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Kinsman, and his Friend, a Chappel which he called the *Anastasy*, or Resurrection, because 'twas there the Catholick Faith, which was as it were dead in *Constantinople*, had happily begun to revive.

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Orat. 26.

The cares and labours of this Apostolical Man had pretty well succeeded, and the number of the Faithful was considerably encreased; but yet compared to the *Arrians*, they made but a small Body, and all the Church they had was the *Anastasy*. *Demophilis*, who had heretofore signalized himself by the persecution which he had made to Pope *Elibertus*, and by the zeal which he testified for the Party, had been translated from the See of *Berkeia*, to that of *Constantinople*. *Valens* had established him therein, and for about ten years he had governed this Church, encouraging his People to the defence of Heresy; and making the hatred he shewed for the Catholicks, to be a point of godliness.

XXIV. *Theodosius*, after he had sedulously instructed himself in all these things, judged it high time to make himself appear. He went in Ceremony, accompanied with all his Court, to the *Anastasy*, where all the Catholicks being assembled, received him with extraordinary Joy and Acclamations. *Gregory* advancing to salute him, the Emperor embraced him with much tenderness, and publicly commended his Piety, his Prudence, and his indefatigable Zeal for the re-establishment of Religion; then turning towards the People, he exhorted them to persist in the Faith, and assured them of his protection. He assisted at the Celebration of the Divine Mysteries; and when they were concluded; he had a pretty long Conference

Greg. Naz.  
Carm. de  
vita sua.

11

with



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with the Bishop. He discovered to him the design he had to use his Authority against the *Arrians*, and to restore the *Catholicks* to their ancient Rights.

Greg. Naz.  
ibid.

This Saint reports, that he spoke to him in these terms; or to the like effect: *God makes use of us, my Father, to establish you in this Church. 'Tis a Reward that is due to your Vertue, and your Labours. The whole City is disorder'd, and pretends either to contradict my Orders, or to make me consent to leave it in its possession. But nothing ought to discourage a Prince that sustains so pious a Cause. The undertaking appears impossible to many, till such time as I shall have performed it. I go to work with the assistance of Heaven. I cannot make a better use of my power, than to employ it in the service of God, from whom I hold it; nor do any thing of greater advantage for one of the principal Churches of the world, than to prefer to it such a Pastor as you.*

Gregory replied to the Emperor, *That the resolution which he had taken to maintain Religion, was worthy of him; that all good Men had expected to be happy under his Reign; that he was unquestionably designed to repair the faults of his Predecessors; that God would bless his Intemions, since he had none but just ones; and that after having fix'd the Empire in peace, there remained no more than to fix the Church likewise therein.*

As to the honour *Theodosius* would do him, he returned him thanks in terms full of acknowledgment and humility, representing to him, That he demanded no other recompence for his services, if he had been happy enough to render any to the Church, than to be sent back to his solitude of *Arianze*, from whence he had been drawn; that he was not fit for the society of the *Grandees* of the Age; that whatsoever affection he entertained for his Flock, he would from henceforth abandon it

it without trouble, since he left it under the protection of so pious an Emperor; that he entreated so much the more instantly the permission of retiring, because he was regarded by some as a stranger, who came to seize upon the Episcopal See of *Constantinople*. But notwithstanding all his Reasons, he could not obtain his *Congé*, and was not so much as heard upon this Point.

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Socrat. l. 5,  
6, 7.

XXV. *Theodosius* being returned to his Palace, and knowing the perplexity wherein the *Arrians* were, sent the same day to demand of *Demophilus* their Bishop, if he would embrace the Faith of *Nice*, and reunite the People in one Body. This Heretick answered, that he could not change his opinion, nor consent to an accommodation. Then the Prince commanded him, that since he refused to side with the truth, and that he persisted in his inclination to harbor a division in the Metropolis of the Empire, to abandon without delay all the Churches of the City, and to restore them to the Catholics, as they had enjoyed them under the Reign of *Constantine the Great*. *Demophilus* astonished at a Command so rough, and unexpected; was some time incapable of speaking; and returned at last no other Answer, than that he would acquaint the People with the Emperor's pleasure.

Socrat. ib.  
Sozem. l. 7.  
6. 4.

In the mean time he was thinking how to elude this Order, either by artificial Requests, or by affected delays, or else by an open Rebellion. But having considered the difficulty of resisting Power, and imposing upon an enlightned Prince, that was resolved not to relax upon this Point, he assembled the People in the Church, and rising up in the midst of them, exposed to them the Command he had received. After which he said to them,

I 3

that

An. 380.

Math. 10.

that being unwilling to subscribe to the decisions of the Council of *Nice*, and unable to oppose the Authority of the Emperor, he was reduced to follow this Precept of the Gospel, *When they shall persecute you in one City, flee into another*; that thus yielding to necessity, he would hold his Assembly the next day without the City. He departed in effect the same day with *Lucius* the false Patriarch of *Alexandria*, who had retired to his house for some time.

Greg. Naz.  
Carm. de v.  
ta sua.

XXVI. The Hereticks were so affected at the words of *Demophilus*, that they put the whole City in emotion. Some taking up Arms ran to the Churches in order to seize upon them; others went in a tumult to the gate of the Palace, to implore the Emperors mercy; some of them invested the *Anastacy*, and threatened to revenge the retreat of their associates upon the Bishop of the Catholics. The places and the streets were full of women, children, and old men bathed in tears. There was heard from all parts nothing but cries, and lamentations; and there was seen in *Constantinople* the image of a City taken by assault. *Theodosius*, who foresaw this disorder, had sent Soldiers in the principal Quarters, to disperse the Mutineers that assembled there, and particularly to possess themselves of the Cathedral Church, and to seize upon all the Avenues.

There remained nothing more, but to install *Gregory of Nazianzum*, and he would be present at this action. He went to take him in the *Anastacy*, and carried him himself, as it were in triumph, in the midst of his Guards to the Church, where a thanksgiving was solemnly rendered to God. The prayers being ended. the greatest part of the People

People lifting up their Voices, wished a thousand blessings to the Emperor, and entreated him, as a complement of favours, to give them *Gregory* for their Bishop. The Saint suffering impatiently the heat, which transported them, and being unable to make himself heard by reason of his weakness, prayed him that was seated near him, to speak to them from him, that they should cease to cry so; that they were assembled to adore the Trinity, and not to chuse a Bishop; and that upon a day so happy as that, their only business was to praise and glorify God.

The People received this correction with respect, and testified by their applauses how much they were affected with the modesty of this Prelate. The Emperor himself gave him great commendations, and put him in possession not only of the Churches, but also of the Episcopal House, and all the Ecclesiastical Revenues. Thus this grand affair was determined, by the cares and resolution of *Theodosius*. As he had very expressly commanded the Officers of his Troops to hinder *Greg. Naz. ib.* Sedition without committing any Violence; all this tumult was appeased with so much order, that, there was but one single Sword drawn against some of the most zealous *Arrians*. It was an extream joy to the Emperor, to have dispossessed the Hereticks, without the price of any of their blood, of those Churches which they had procured by the death of so many venerable Persons.

Whilst he thus weakned in the East the *Arrians* Party, he learnt with pleasure, that the Empress *Justine*, Mother of the young *Valentinian*, vainly endeavored to establish them at *Milan*; that the See of *Sirmium* being vacant, she had made a Journey thither on purpose to install a Bishop



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shop of her Sect; but that Saint *Ambrose*, whose place it was to preside at this Election, had diverted the stroke; that *Gratian* being importuned by the solicitations of this Princess, had granted her a Church of the Catholics, but that after having known the consequence of the gift he had made, he restored it to St. *Ambrose*, in whose right alone was the disposal of it, and that there was reason to hope, that this Heresy would lose much of its Credit and Pride.

207. l. 4.

XXVII. After that *Theodosius* had so happily executed what he undertook for the re-establishment of Religion he carefully applied himself to the affairs of the Empire. He began by regulations of the Souldiery. He created several Lieutenant Generals, to whom he allowed great Pensions; he augmented the number of the Officers in Companies, knowing that there is nothing of more force to Armies, and contributes more to discipline. He made great presents to the Captains of the *Barbarians* who had served him, and forgot nothing that might win them to his service, giving to some employments which fixed them near his Person, marrying others of them into the richest Families of Court or City, and disengaging them thus from the Interest of their Country.

This Policy preserved him from the Ambuscades, which *Erinolphus* and *Fravitas*, two of the chief Captains of the *Goths*, prepared for him. Whether they had been chosen for Hostages, or had commanded that body of Troops which their Nation provided, or else had voluntarily inrolled themselves in the Emperor's service, they were come with a design to take their opportunity, and

encou-

encourage their men to a revolt. The Emperor retained them in his Court, and loaded them with Riches and Honors. *Fravitas* becoming amorous of a *Roman Lady*, he made her espouse him, and engaged him so well to the Empire's Party by this marriage, and by his favors, that he since served with an exact fidelity in all its Wars, and deserved at length to be advanced to the Consulship under the reign of *Arcadius*.

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Eynap. Le-

gat.

Zoz. l. 4.

XXVIII. This Captain forgetting his former resolutions, and applying himself by gratitude to the service of *Theodosius*, endeavoured to win over *Eriulphus*, and represented to him several times that it was for his Interest and Honor to give himself up entirely to a Prince, of whom he had received so many Favours, and might still expect more. But *Eriulphus*, who had conceived an irreconcilable hatred against the Emperor, persisted always in his design, and defended himself upon what he was obliged by Oath. There arose betwixt them upon this occasion a great controversy, which remained a long time concealed. *Fravitas*, hoping that *Eriulphus* would render himself at length, and judging that it was not safe to defer it; moreover seeing that he was not in a condition yet to do any harm, was contented to observe him, in order to break his measures.

But the affair broke out all of a sudden; for one day having been invited to one of those entertainments, more decent than sumptuous, which the Emperor made from time to time for his Courtiers, the Wine made a discovery of what had passed. They both grew hot, and mutually reproached one another with perfidiousness. The respect of the Prince was an obstacle to their further pro-

Aurel. Vi-  
tor. Theod.

An. 380. proceeding. But *Eriulphus* going out to animate his men, *Fravitas* pursued him forthwith in order to prevent him, and having joyned him pretty near the Palace, passed his Sword through his body, and killed him. It was not difficult for him to prove the ill intentions of the dead, because he knew his accomplices; and he since justified his fidelity through the whole conduct of his life.

*Theodosius* was no less careful to regulate the government of the Empire. He made choice of qualified persons for the Magistrates; and recommended to them Probity and Justice; he made Laws, and made them to be observed. He resolved to abolish Paganism, as much as Prudence would permit him, not by persecutions, but by deprivations of favours, excluding those from Dignities, who made profession thereof; and punishing severely what they attempted against Religion, and the State.

XXIX. The Historian *Zozimus* takes an occasion from hence to cry down his Government, accusing him of having minded his pleasures more than the necessities of the people; of having kept a Table of too much delicacy and magnificence, and too great a number of Officers to serve him; of suffering himself to be governed by his Favourites in the distribution of Charges; of having sold the Offices, and raised new Subsidies to maintain his indiscreet diversions and liberalities, which had been without doubt worthy of blame.

But besides the suspicion one ought to have of an Historian that is visibly interested, who supports what he affirms by no particular action, it would be unjust to prefer the testimony of one single man, before that of many Ecclesiastical and


and *Pagan* Authors, who have praised the Continnence, Frugality and Moderation of this Emperor, altho' the one had no reason to conceal his faults, and the others were not used to flatter him. His inclination for Peace, his zeal for the Christian Religion, the deference he had for the Bishops, and the necessity wherein he undoubtedly found himself to raise some Imposts in the beginning of his Reign in order to carry on the War against the *Barbarians*, might serve as a foundation for what this Author has observed. But it is time to resume the course of the History.

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XXX. The *Arrians* had been shook by the loss which they had sustained of their Churches, but they were not yet pulled down. *Demophilus* remained about *Constantinople*, and those of his Sect acknowledged him still for Bishop of that Imperial City, and went to confer with him, and to confirm themselves in their error. Some of them, who imputed the whole cause of their disgrace to the hatred which *Gregory of Nazianzum* bore to them, were resolved to get rid of him. They gained a young Man of a seditious and undertaking temper, who agreed to murder him in his Episcopal house. It was not hard to get near him at a time when People came in multitudes to congratulate him upon the happy success of the affairs of Religion. This Murderer having mixed himself in a crowd of Citizens, was introduced with them into the Chamber of this Prelat, where his indisposition and weariness retained him in Bed. The Company rejoiced with him for the new acquisition of the Churches, and after a thousand testimonies of affection and respect, retired, praising God aloud for having given them so wise and virtuous a Pastor.

XXXI. The



 XXXI. The Assassin remained alone, and being terrified of a sudden with the image of that Crime he was upon the point to execute, and pressed with the remorse of his Conscience, he cast himself at the feet of Gregory to implore his mercy. Fear had put him to such a stand, that he continued in that posture without saying a single word. The Saint being surprized at so unexpected a sight, lean'd on one side to raise him up, and asked him several times who he was, and what he desired of him: but having received for answer nothing but a few inarticulate words, and abrupt cries and sighs, he was moved to compassion, and began to cry with him. His Domesticks run at the noise, and being unable to oblige this Wretch to go from thence, carried him by force into the Anti-chamber, where being come to himself a little, he confessed the design he had, lifting up his hands to Heaven, and shewing all the marks of a profound grief. They brought him before the Archbishop, to whom one of them came to tell him in a Consternation, *Learn, my Lord, the danger you have incurred. This young Man, whom you behold, is an Assassin, who came with an intention to murder you. God has moved him, he has confessed his Crime, and the Tears which he sheds before you, is an Argument of his hearty Repentance.* Gregory made the Murderer approach, and embracing him with much tenderness, *God preserve you, my Son,* said he to him; *since he has saved my life to day, it is but just that I should save yours also. All the satisfaction I demand of you is, that you would renounce your heresy, and think upon your salvation.* This Action was admired by his very Enemies. He would never make use of his credit with the Emperor against them, but for what related to the Church in general.

Greg. Naz.  
 Carm. de  
 vita sua.

XXXII. At

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XXXII. Altho' he had hindred the search after the Authors and Accomplices of this Conspiracy against him, *Theodosius* knowing the malice of these Hereticks, resolved to curb them with new Ordinances. He made an Edict which forbid all his Subjects to give any Retreat to the Hereticks, in order to the celebration of their Mysteries; nor to suffer them to hold their Assemblies in publick, lest their permission to exercise their false Religion, should cause them to persist obstinately therein. He annulled all Edicts of a contrary nature, which might have been obtained by surprize. He ordained that thro' his whole Empire, according to the Faith of the holy Council of *Nice*, there should be acknowledged one indivisible substance in the Trinity; that they should abhor the *Photinians*, *Arians*, *Eunomians*, and such like Monsters, whose Names ought not even to be known; that they should abandon all the Churches, and put them immediately into the hands of the Catholick Bishops; and that if they made the least difficulty of obeying, they should be expelled the Cities, and treated as Rebels. This Edict was published at *Constantinople* upon the 10<sup>th</sup> day of *January*, and *Japor* had Orders to go and see it performed in the Provinces.

Leg. 6. de  
haer. Cod.  
Theod.

Theodor. l.  
l. 5. c. 22.

XXXIII. *Theodosius* laboured thus to tame the Pride of the Enemies of Religion, when by an unlookt for Revolution he saw at his Feet one of the most formidable Enemies of the Empire. *Athanasius* King of the *Ostrogoths* sent to obtain his protection, and a retreat into his Dominions. He was a Prince of a fierce temper, brought up in Arms from his Infancy, who had been often cha-  
fed

**An. 381.** sed out of his Territories, and had immediately subdued others. He had joined himself with *Procopius*, in order to deest *Valens* of his Crown. He sustained against him a terrible War for three years, and obliged him to purchase a Peace. When they came to conclude and sign the Treaty, he refused to pass the *Danube*, saying, *That he had made an Oath never to set foot upon the Roman Ground, till he had conquered it.* Notwithstanding all that was represented to him concerning the Grandeur and Majesty of the Empire, he would have no interview, unless the Emperor treated him as an Equal, and came as far as he upon a Bridge of Boats, which was to be made upon the River for that purpose.

*Ammian. l.*  
27.

*Valens*, whom other pressing Affairs called another way, underwent this hard condition; but he lost no occasion after that to be revenged upon *Athbanaric*, assisting those who were at War with him, and refusing him all manner of Relief. The inundation of the *Huns* being come, this King, who was one of the first oppressed, yet would not have recourse to the Emperor in this extremity with the rest, whether he persisted in his design to have no Correspondence with the Emperor, or that he assured himself of being refused. He betook himself to the quarters of the *Sarmats* and *Taisals*, where he fixed himself with a Party of his Subjects by force of Arms. He remained there peaceably without being willing to enter into the Wars of his Nation, because he was not as yet well settled in the Countrey, and could not agree with King *Fritigern*, who commanded the *Visigoths*, and the confederate *Barbarians*.

XXXIV. He had learnt with joy the death of *Valens*; and the Reputation of *Theodosius* had begun to render him less incensed against the *Romans*, when of a sudden he fell into a misfortune, which he could not recover. After the defeat of *Valens*, the *Barbarians*, who were no longer to be retained under any fear, lived without order, and without discipline. As it was a difficult matter to rule under the same Laws this heap of so many different People, *Fritigern* on one side assembled a part of his *Goths*; *Alathius* and *Safrax* on the other rallied their *Grothungues*, and uniting their Affections and Interests, after having made a prodigious Booty, they detached themselves from the multitude, and marched towards the West. *Vitalian*, who had been sent to command in *Illyrium*, had not the courage to fight them. They posted themselves between the *Rhine* and the *Danube*, and after having forced all that opposed their passage, they advanced towards the *Rhine*, and made Incursions as far as *Gaul*.

*Gratian* was disturbed at it; and to remove from him such dangerous Enemies, he offered to them some Lands in *Pannonia*, and the *Upper Mysia*, if they would retire there. They took it some time into consideration, and judging that from thence they might make a greater Progress upon one or t'other Empire, they accepted the Condition. They passed the *Danube* with a design to establish themselves in *Pannonia*, then to enter into *Epirus*, and to make themselves Masters of *Greece*. In this thought they collected vast Provisions, and to leave behind them no Prince that might afford them any suspicion, they fell upon *Athanasius*, because he refused to join them, and caused a jealousy

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Zoz. ibid.



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lously upon the account of their ancient enmities. They won part of his Subjects, terrified the rest, and chased the King himself out of his Dominions.

XXXV. This Prince reduced to this extremity had recourse to *Theodosius*, whose generosity was not unknown to him. He sent to him immediately one of his Captains to desire his Protection, and to tell him, That altho' he had not deserved this Favor, he had been informed that to be unhappy sufficed to obtain a favourable reception from him; that it would not be less honourable for him to have assisted the Goths upon occasion, than to have conquered them; that it concerned those who were Masters of the World, not to suffer the Prerogatives of Royalty to be infringed; that those who had chased him from his Dominions, had other designs than that of oppressing such a King as he; that he had rejected the counsels of those stirring spirits, to whom he was become odious, by this only consideration, that he might be an Obstacle to their Pretensions, and so he was become unfortunate, because time had made him wise; that indeed, thro' Pride, or Prevention, he had been formerly averse to the Empire, but that he could not be so, when he saw it governed by an Emperor as just as he is powerful; that he had entertained the boldness of pretending to be equal to others, but would think it glorious to live as his Subject in any corner of his Territories, if he would be pleased to receive him.

XXXVI. *Theodosius* favourably received the Request of *Arhanaric*; and as well to satisfy himself, as to attract other Princes by the good entertainment he should make to this, he sent him word, That he sympathized with his Misfortune; that he accounted as a great happiness the opportunity he had to

protect

protect him; that the Empire, as long as he was Master of it, should be always open to such Kings as he, who desired to live in his friendship; that whilst he could restore him to his Kingdom, he pray'd him to repair to Constantinople, and to take no other Court for his Retreat; that he should be honoured there, as much as he could be in his own; and that he would endeavour by all manner of delightful Treatments to comfort him, and make him forget that he was out of his own Dominions. He sent to receive him upon the Frontier, with Orders to all Governors in his way to give him the same Respect upon such occasions; that they were accustomed to give Emperors.

Athanasius, surprized at all these Civilities, was persuaded to go to Court with most part of the Officers, who had attended him in his disgrace. The Honours which he received in every place, seemed but little agreeable to his present Fortune; but he did not cease to be sensibly touched thereat. 207. l. 4.

Theodosius prepared for him a magnificent entrance into Constantinople; and altho' he was but just recovered of an Indisposition, which had almost reduced him to extremity, he went himself a good distance from the City to meet him, and received him with an extraordinary goodness and generosity. He lodged him in his own Palace, and ordered his Domesticks to serve him with so much Order and Grandeur, that the King cryed out several times in a profound Admiration, That the Emperor was a God upon Earth, and that no mortal Man, if he had but a grain of Reason left, durst set upon him. Fornand.

XXXVII. He was not less amazed, when he went to view the most considerable places of Constantinople, where Theodosius himself conducted him

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in the midst of all his Court. This City, by its Grandeur, by its Situation, and by its Riches, deserved to be the Imperial Seat. *Constantine* had built it about 70 years before, and had fixed himself there, whether it was in order to retain more conveniently from thence the barbarous Nations, who disturbed the Peace of the East; or to leave behind him an eternal Monument of his greatness; or else to give *Rome* a Jealousy, with which City he was not very well pleased, as well by reason of the Liberty the Senate preserved there, as upon the account of the Idolatry which reigned there still, therefore he call'd it *New Rome*. As it is an usual thing to mix something of Mystery in the original of Cities and States, to render them the more illustrious, it was believed that this Emperor had undertaken so great a design, by a secret order from Heaven. They published, that as he laid the foundations of a City near the ancient *Ilium*, an Eagle carried away the Workmens line, and let it fall near *Byzantium*, to mark out the place he was to pitch upon; and that since, measuring the Circuit he intended for the Walls, he had been visibly conducted by an Angel; together with many other such like Prodigies.

Zonar. Nic.  
ceph. l. 3.  
c. 4.

Be it as it will, *Constantine* having finished this City, which he loved as his own work, spared nothing for its ornament and grandeur. He built therein a Capital, a Cirque, an Amphitheater, Squares, Piazza's, and other publick Edifices, in imitation of those at *Rome*. He took from the noblest Cities of the East what was most valuable and curious for the embellishment of this. He ordered the Remains of the entire works of the Kings of *Egypt* to be brought thither; above all the Obelisk of *Thebes*, which was not conveyed without

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without abundance of difficulty. He composed a Senate after that of *Rome*. He drew from all parts of the World, Men excellent in Sciences and Arts, for whom he had erected Colledges and particular Houses in divers quarters, and assigned them considerable Pensions. He appointed Funds for the subsistence of the Citizens, and the maintenance of the Buildings. He founded Churches and Academies, and perfected the design he had to make a City equal, and even superior to the ancient *Rome*.

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The other Emperors had not been less careful towards the beautifying of *Constantinople*. *Constantinus*, besides the famous Temple of *St. Sophia*, in which he had enclosed the Basilick of Peace, and set up likewise terms which expressed his Name, and Porches enriched with Pillars, and Figures of Marble. *Valens*, from the Ruines of *Calcedon*, had made Baths, and an Aqueduct, where all the Springs of the Mountains round about being collected, after having composed a kind of a River, dispersed themselves thro' the City, or into private Houses, or into publick Ponds or Fountains, which furnished water in abundance for all parts. The Civil Magistrates, to please the Emperors, had applied themselves to keep the Citizens in order, and the publick Structures in their beauty; and the very People, being thus maintain'd in their Privileges, and enrich'd by Commerce, did not a little contribute, by reason of its neatness, and their frequent rejoicings, towards the giving an Air of grandeur and politeness to this Imperial City.

*Athanasius* admired all these things. He could not sufficiently behold the Port filled with Vessels from all the Nations of the World, and that affluence of People retained by the conveniency of



the abode, or drawn thither by the relation the  
 An. 381. Provinces have to the Court. The Captains of  
 the *Goths*, who followed him, and were only accustomed to the coarse stateliness of their *Barbarian* Court, conceived a great *Idea* of the Empire, and especially of the Emperor, who made them observe all that was curious with an extreme Civility, and exposed to them his very designs of augmenting and adorning the City, which he performed some years after with a magnificence, which surpassed that of his Predecessors.

*Themist.  
 Orat. 6.*

XXXVIII. *Athanasius* began to lose the remembrance of his misfortunes, and there was reason to hope that he might embrace the Christian Religion, which he had heretofore cruelly persecuted. But as in an advanced Age his Passions were yet lively, the grief which his misfortune had occasioned him having already weakened him, the joy of seeing himself so honourably treated seized upon him, and made such an impression upon his vitals, that he fell sick, and dyed 15 days after his arrival at *Constantinople*. The Emperor, who had rendered him all the offices of a good Friend, was much afflicted at his death; because he loved him, and was in hopes to have made use of him one day to reduce the whole Nation to a firm and constant alliance with the Empire. He caused him to be magnificently interred, according to the ancient Ceremonies of the *Pagans*, and erected upon his Grave so rich and stately a Monument that the *Barbarians* and *Romans* were equally astonished at it.

*Ammian. l.  
 27.  
 Zoz. l. 4.*

XXXIX. This goodness of *Theodosius* had a greater influence than he could expect upon the minds

minds of the *Goths*. For besides that *Albanaric*, before he died, called about his Bed all the Captains that had attended him, and had recommended to them the obligations they were under to preserve an inviolable Fidelity to the Emperor during the whole course of their Lives, and to publish in their own Countrey, when they should return thither, all the Favors which they had received; they were themselves extremely affected with the Civilities of the *Romans*. *Theodosius* offered to them very honourable Posts in his Armies; but they excused themselves, saying, *That they would be ne're the less united to him, and that they went to serve him with more advantage in their own Countrey*; which they executed afterwards, by guarding the passages of the *Danube*, and hindring the *Romans* from being assaulted on their side. Thus the Sweetness of Princes oftentimes produces greater Effects than their Power, and the People, who are won by kindness, are usually more firm in their Duty, than those who are conquered by Arms.

XL. After so happy a Success, *Theodosius* seeing that the Laws he had made in favor of Religion, had stopt the disorders, but not re-united mens spirits, resolved to call together an Universal Council, after the example of *Constantine the Great*, whose Piety he made a Glory in following. From his coming to the Empire, he had entertained this thought, because he judged that it was the most secure, and ready means to determine with sweetness, as he desired, the Ecclesiastical differences. But for the execution of it, he had staid till it was fixed in Peace, and to render this Assembly more authentick, he had projected to hold it in the Capital of his Empire. He would

An 381.

Theod. l. 5. c. 6.

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be there himself, in order to dispose all Parties to an agreement, and to maintain by his Authority what should be decided by the consent of the Fathers. As soon as he put the Catholics in possession of the Churches of *Constantinople*, he thought that the Council might assemble there, with less trouble, and more dignity. He wrote then to all the Bishops of the East, to invite them to come to this Imperial City, in order to confirm the Faith of *Nice*, to establish a Bishop therein, and to constitute necessary Laws towards the strengthening of the Peace of the Church, and the Re-union of his Subjects upon the points of Religion.

Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 8.

Greg. Naz.  
Orat. 44.

XLI. Of all the Hereticks he called to the Council none but the *Macedonians*, because they were regular in their manners, distinct from the *Arians*; and altho they composed a body, and communion apart, yet they were lookt upon as Friends to the Catholics, and as men indifferently disposed to return into the bosom of the Church. These reasons had made the Emperor believe, that it was no hard matter to reduce them. They came to the number of Thirty six, the most part Bishops of the *Hellepont*, the chief of which were *Eleusus* Bishop of *Cizicus*, and *Martian* Bishop of *Lampsacus*. This Prince exhorted them himself to acknowledge their fault, and represented to them that it was time to return to the Faith, and Communion of the Church; that they were engaged to it in the deputation they had formerly sent to Pope *Liberius*; and that a little time before, they made no scruple of communicating with the Catholics. But they obstinately replied, that they had rather be reconciled and united with the *Arians*,

Socrat. ib.  
Socrat. l. 7.  
c. 7.

*Arrians*, than the Orthodox Men. This answer obliged the Emperor to chase them away, as unworthy of the condescension he had had for them.

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XLII. All orders were given for the subsistence, and lodging of the Bishops; and *Theodosius* was no less magnificent in relation to this Council, than *Constantine* had been to that of *Nice*. The Bishops came from all parts of the East in haste, and arrived at *Constantinople* to the number of a Hundred and fifty, in the time that had been prescribed them. As the last Reigns had been times of Persecution, there were many of these Prelates who had composed excellent Works against the Hereticks, or had suffered Exile and Torments for the Defence of the Faith. Never had the Church seen more Saints, and Confessors assembled. They were come with Joy once more to give their Votes for the truth, under an Emperor who had as much zeal to establish Religion, as others had to confound it.

But there were also many, who, during the late Reign, were entred into Bishopricks, or had maintained themselves therein by the favor of the Governors of Provinces, and Generals of Armies. Even some of them, who having heretofore been placed in the room of Holy Bishops, who had been persecuted from their Sees, remained peaceable Possessors after their Death. These, ruling their Faith by their Ambition, and their Interest, were conformable to the time; and as they had been Hereticks under *Valens*, they became Catholics under *Theodosius*. They came to the Council to observe the course of things, and to occasion troubles, if they could do it with security.

Greg. Naz.  
Carm. de vita sua.  
Idem. car. de Episc.



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XLIII. *Melarius* Bishop of *Antioch* was to preside over this Assembly. The Emperor had a passionate desire to see him, as well upon the account of the reputation of Sanctity, which this Prelate had got throughout the East, as also because he had appeared to him in a Vision, presenting to him the Purple in one hand, and the Crown in t'other. *Theodosius* had always honored him from that time, even before he knew him; and had often sent him considerable Sums, to assist the Poor of his Diocess, and to finish the Church which he caus'd to be built in honor of St. *Babylas*, beyond the River *Oromes*. As soon as the Bishops were arrived, they went all together to salute the Emperor; who being willing to try, if he could distinguish *Melarius* from amongst the rest, forbid that he should be shewn to him. He had fixed in his imagination so strong an Idea of his Face, that as soon as he perceived him, he observed him of himself, and affirmed him to be the same he had seen in a Vision. He advanced towards him with an impatience full of respect, and tenderness. He embraced him in a particular manner, and kissed his eyes, his head, his breast, and above all his hand, which had crowned him beforehand, and rendered to him those honors, which no body was jealous of, because every one esteemed him worthy of them. Then he behaved himself with much civility to the other Bishops, and entreated them as his Fathers to endeavor with all their power to answer the end, for which they were assembled.

*Theodor. l.*  
5. c. 6.

XLIV. The opening of the Council being made with much solemnity, they agreed upon beginning

beginning with what related to the Church of *Constantinople*. Altho this affair was not the most important, notwithstanding it appeared the most pressing, because *Theodosius* was much concerned therein, and that it was convenient to supply with a Person of great merit, a See, whose Rights and Dignity were presumed to be augmented. *Maximus* had not desisted from his pretension: but his Ordination was so contrary to the Laws and Ecclesiastical Forms, that the Council had declared that he was not Bishop, and could not exercise the Functions thereof. Those, who had protected him, were blamed, and those whom he had ordained were degraded, and judged unworthy of holding any rank amongst the Clergy. An. 381.

*Gregory of Nazianzum* had been chosen by the Suffrages of the People, and the Authority of the Emperor; he was without a See; that of *Constantinople* was vacant. He had been charged with the care of this Church, and went under the Title of it. Thus this Election might have passed for legitimate. But *Gregory*, who lived without Ambition, would attempt nothing contrary to Disciplines, did not think himself engaged to a charge which he had not accepted. He alledged that a Prelate without a Title could not take possession of a vacant Church, unless authorized by a Council; and that the irregular conduct which had been held in reference to him, gave occasion for ambitious Prelates to seize upon the vacant Sees, for the People to establish them in a tumultuous manner, and for Metropolitans to dispossess them out of humane considerations. Sozom. l. 4. c. 9.

*Greg. Naz.  
Orat. 27.*

XLV. It was not hard to determine upon two Subjects, whereof one was for being maintained in

in a Dignity which he deserved not, and the other demanded nothing but a renunciation, notwithstanding his right and worthiness of it. The Emperor, who was acquainted with the great qualities of *Gregory*, desired him for his Bishop. *Melotinus*, who had a tender affection for him, was come particularly to instal him. All the Fathers agreed upon it; and *Gregory* was the only person that scrupled to consent to his Election: He cast himself at the feet of *Theodosius* to entreat him to divert the blow: but this Prince represented to him, That it was just to give the conduct of this Church to him, who had formed it with so much diligence; That the love of Peace and Solitude ought not to dispense him from labor, since he was called to it; That this approbation of the Council, was a visible Testimony of the Will of God; That being Bishop of this Imperial City, he might contribute to the re-establishment of Faith in the whole Empire; And that finding himself placed in the midst of the East and West, he might become as it were a Mediator, and perhaps unite together those two halves of the world, which were unhappily divided upon the Subject of the Church of Antioch.

*Melotinus* represented to him, the same things in the name of all the Assembly, and obliged him by his reasons and his counsels to undergo the Yoke which was imposed upon him, and to sacrifice his repose to the Interests and Necessities of the Church. Thus all conspired to do Violence to his Modesty. He was placed upon the Episcopal Throne, where the People and the Clergy had carried him some time before, and where he would not since take his place. Nothing was wanting to the Solemnity of this Action. *Melotinus* performed the Ceremony, the Emperor assisted there, all the People run in crowds

*Greg. Naz.  
Carm. de  
vita sua.*

to see it; and several Prelates, amongst whom was *Gregory of Nyssa*, made very eloquent discourses upon that subject.

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XLVI. After they had thus regulated the affairs of that Church, they came to treat about the points of Faith. As the greatest part of the new Heresies had been condemned in the Council of *Nice*, the Decrees thereupon were ordered to be read, and were confirmed. Then was produced the confession of Faith, which Pope *Damasus* had formerly sent to *Antioch*, and by his example they condemned the Error of *Apollinaris*, who destroyed the truth of the Mystery of the Incarnation. After which they proceeded against the *Macedonians*, who denied the Divinity of the Holy Ghost, and refused of late to communicate with the Catholics. For this effect, as the Creed of *Nice*, had annexed to that of the Apostles, by way of explication, what had been defined concerning the Divinity of the word; so the Creed of *Constantinople* added to that of *Nice*, what regarded the Person of the Holy Ghost, the Lord and Giver of Life, who was to be equally adored and glorified with the Father and the Son.

Ruffin.

XLVII. From the Doctrine of Faith they passed to the Rules of Discipline. The enterprize of seven Bishops of *Egypt*, who were come to ordain *Maximus* at *Constantinople*, gave occasion for the renewing of that Canon, that the ordination of the Bishops of each Province, should be performed by those of the same Province, or by those of the Neighborhood, who should be called for that purpose: and because it happened in the time of the Persecution, that some Prelats had passed into foreign

Concil. Nice  
Can. 4, 5, 6.



foreign Provinces for the affairs of the Church, An. 381. which might cause a disturbance; they regulated the jurisdiction of every *Metropolitan*, and attributed the dicision of the affairs of Provinces to Provincial Councils. To honor the Imperial City, and to please the Emperor, it was declared that the Bishop of *Constantinople*, should hold the rank and prerogatives of honor next to that of *Rome*, because *Constantinople* was the new or second *Rome*. At length they decided many things concerning the juridical form of accusations against Bishops, and they endeavoured to re-establish order in the Church.

Sezom. 1.7.  
2.9.

XLVIII. The Fathers of the Council after having thus decreed the points of Faith and Discipline, which they had esteemed necessary, reduced them into Articles, and presented them to *Theodosius*. They wrote to him at the same time a synodal Letter, by which they immediately gave thanks to God; for having placed him upon the Throne in order to the settling the peace of the Church, and the establishment of Religion. They shewed him afterwards, that having been assembled by his Orders, they had with one accord prescribed certain Ecclesiastical Rules, whether to condemn Heresies, or to correct the abuses of the time; and entreated him to confirm by his Authority what they had done, and to join his suffrage to theirs, in sealing with his Imperial Seal the dicision of the Council. They ended with Prayers, and wished that his Reign might be founded upon Peace, and Justice; that it might endure a long Series of Generations, and that at length he might determine by the joys of a Celestial Kingdom... The Council was wil-

in its behavior thus: for besides the necessity of the Emperors consent to make its Ordinances observed, it had a mind to extract from him a Letter of confirmation, as a publick engagement of his Faith, to the end he might thereby be kept more firm to the right party, and might deprive the Hereticks of all hopes of being able to seduce him.

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XLIX. Albeit the Bishops who composed this Assembly, were very different as to their manners, and inclinations, they had agreed to all the points proposed, and all went to end in a peaceable manner, when an unexpected accident produced disorder, and division. It was the death of *Melitus*, one of the two Bishops of *Antioch*, who had been chief, and as it were the Soul of the Council. The whole Eastern Church bewailed his loss. *Theodosius*, who loved him as his Father, and honored him as if he had held the Empire of him, would have his Funeral made in resemblance of a Triumph. He assisted therein himself, and gave publick Testimonies of his affliction, and his Piety. The Body of this holy man was deposited in the Church of the Apostles, where the Psalms were sung by several Quires in divers Languages, and where the People running in multitudes, carried an infinite number of Wax-tapers and Flamboys, and brought back as a precious Treasure, some Linnen which had touched his Face.

*Greg. Naz. Orat. in sua. Mel.*

The most eloquent Prelate of the Assembly made Funeral Harangues in his Honor, and represented the Vertues he had practised, and the Persecutions he had suffered for the Faith. After they had finished all the duty of Piety, *Theodosius* ordered

*Philost. l. 5. c. 4.*

ordered those precious Relicks to be conveyed to *Antioch*, to be conducted through the most public ways, and to be received in all the Cities, altho it was not the Custom of the *Romans*. All *Constantinople* went out of the Gates, and never did the number of the Inhabitants appear greater. There was running from all parts upon the Road to accompany this body in singing Psalms, till they had brought him to *Antioch*, and placed him near the Shrine of *St. Babylas* the Martyr, one of the most celebrated Archbishops of that City.

*Sozom. l.*  
*7. c. 10.*

*Idem. l. 7.*  
*c. 9.*

L. In the mean time *Theodosius* answered to the Council; and to confirm what had been there decreed, he published an Edict, by which he ordained, that the Faith of *Nice* should be generally received, and approved of in the whole extent of his Empire, and that all the Churches should be restored into the hands of the Catholics, who confessed one God in three Persons, equal in Honour and Power. To avoid the professions of an Equivocal Faith, he declared that those alone should be esteemed Catholics, who should be united in Communion with certain Prelates whom he specified in each Province, and whose virtue he was acquainted with, either by the correspondence he held with them, or by the Reputation which they had long enjoyed of governing their Churches with Piety.

LI. There was some reason to hope, that this Council supported by the Authority of the Prince, would have great effects in reference to Religion, and that the Schism of *Antioch*, which divided the East from the West, would have been determined by the death of *Meletius*, who was the innocent

innocent cause thereof: but some Factions persons obstinately persisting in giving him a Successor, a disorder broke out; and the Eastern People themselves were disunited, and grew hot upon this occasion.

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This difference had begun under the Empire of *Constantine* the great, who upon calumnies invented by the *Arians*, had chased from *Antioch* *Eustathius* Patriarch of that City, and a great defender of the Divinity of Jesus Christ. The *Arians* being possessed of his See, and having put in his place five or six Bishops of their Sect successively, the Catholics were oppressed. Some of them submitted to violence; others continued firm in the Faith under the conduct of *Paulinus*, and called themselves *Eustathians*. *Meletius* enjoying since the Patriarchship by the Credit of the *Arians*, who took him to be of their Communion, and having forthwith openly declared against them, he saw himself upon a sudden abandoned of both Parties. The Hereticks who had been chiefly instrumental in his being chosen, were mad at his change; the Catholics praised his zeal, but approved not of his Election.

Chrysost.  
Hom. in  
St. Eust.

As he had notwithstanding, besides an eminent Piety, a great Sweetness, and an admirable Talent to make himself beloved, he attracted in a little time much people to his communion. Some of them disengaged themselves from *Paulinus* to come to him. Several, that had groaned for 30 years under the *Arian* Tyranny, ran so much the more willingly to him, as he had been under the same weakness with them, and that he received them with much condescension and Charity. The persecution which he suffered a few days after, did but augment the veneration which was had

Theod. l. 5.  
c. 227.

for



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for him, and the flock which he had begun to assemble, encreased, and formed it self, during his banishment. Altho' the Catholicks of this City were all united in doctrine, they were separated in communion, and assembled in two different places: the one in a Church which the *Arians* had left *Paulinus*, by reason of the respect they had to his Age, and for the consideration that he was contrary to *Meletius*; the others in a Church of the Suburbs, which they called the *Pa-lee*, or the antient Church.

This Schism scandalized all the East. *Lucifer* Bishop of *Capliari* in *Sardinia*, returning out of exile from *Thebais*, passed through *Antioch*, and undertook to accommodate this difference: but having found the *Eustathians* resolved not to communicate with a Bishop established by the *Hetericks*, and besides being but too much inclined of his own hard and inflexible nature to pardon nothing in matter of Religion, he ordained *Paulinus* by his own private Authority. He thought that the party of *Meletius*, which seemed more disposed for Peace, would easily be reunited to the *Eustathians*, when they should observe a Bishop at their head, who deserved to be so, and who never had any correspondence with the enemies of the Church. But he was deceived; for the Friends of *Meletius* being offended at the injury that was offered to him, and that they had not condescended to consult them, protested that they would have none but him for their Pastor, and that he could not be deposed by a single Bishop, out of his Jurisdiction, and without being heard. They solicited him to come in haste, and obliged themselves to him more strictly than before.

# THE ODOSIUS the Great.

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As soon as this Prelate was come from *Armenia*, where he had been a long time in Exile, they endeavoured to make him sit in the same Throne with *Paulinus*, and even pretended that the greatest number being for him, he made as it were the Body of the Church; and that it was for other Communions, who were but Members and parts thereof, to reunite themselves to it. As for him, as he desired nothing but Peace, he was contented to re-enter into his Church of the Suburbs. He went to visit *Paulinus*, and prayed him to consent, that they might keep in common the Sheep, which the Master of the Flock had confided with them, and that they might all be assembled in one Fold.

*Socr. l. 5. c. 5. Ruffin.*

*Theod. l. 5. c. 3.*

He proposed, in order to take away all subject of division, That the Holy Gospel might be put upon the Bishop's Seat; that they might sit one on the one side, and rather on the other side of it; and that he who survived his Collegue, should remain sole and peaceable Possessor. *Paulinus* refused the Condition, and would have no society with a Man whom the *Arians* had constituted Bishop.

In the mean time this dissention had disturbed the whole Church. *Paulinus*, who was an *Italian* by birth, had more opportunities to prepossess the *Roman* Church, and all the West in his favor; and Pope *Damasus*, who knew him for a Man irreproachable both in his Manners, and his Faith, had embraced his part. All the East on the other side was affected to *Meletius*, as to a Prelate that yielded not to the other in vertue, and who besides had been thrice banished for the defence of the Faith. There was mixed a little compassion with the esteem which was had for him, when it was known that he underwent the persecution of the Hereticks, and that of the Catholics with

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the same patience, and that without using his Priviledges or Credit, he demanded a Peace, and could not obtain it. But for all they found mistakes in their Elections, they did not cease to honour their persons; and it was agreed on both sides, that *Meletius* had been worthy of the See of *Antioch*, if he had not been advanced thereto by the *Arians*, and that *Paulinus* had merited to have been ordained Bishop, if it had been of another Church than that of *Antioch*.

The *Arians* having at last been chased out of that City by vertue of the Edict of *Theodosius*, *Meletius* was put in possession of all their Churches in preference to *Paulinus*. But they agreed, that when one died, no body should succeed in his room, and that all the Churches should remain to the Survivor. Some Historians add, that this Agreement was signed by six persons of the Clergy that were the most capable to succeed, these who were made to swear that they would elect no one to that Bishoprick, nor accept of it themselves, as long as one of the two Patriarchs should live.

Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 5.  
Zoz. l. 7.  
c. 3.

LII. After all these Precautions, one might have believed that the death of *Meletius* would have determined their division, so much the rather, because this holy Man in dying had conjured the Bishops to give him no Successor, and to leave *Paulinus* in sole possession of the Church. But as they came to speak of this Affair, their minds were divided, according as they were disposed to Peace or Discord. The most part of the ancient Prelates represented to the Assembly, that to elect a new Patriarch, was to perpetuate the Schism, that the Survivor had always led a life without reproach,

Greg. Naz.

## THEODOSIUS the Great.

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reproach; that he was of an Age not possible to continue long; and that it was not only Charity An. 381. to let him die in Peace, but also a piece of Justice to perform that Contract which had been made to him.

But the young Men sustained on the other side, that it was not fitting for the Succession of an Episcopacy to be interrupted in so holy a Man as *Melitus*; that *Paulinus* was the Creature of *Damasus*; that he had been ordained by a Bishop of the West, who had neither the Privilege nor Commission to do it, and that so the Eastern Church could not acknowledge him without injuring itself.

*Gregory*, who then presided over the Council, and who had not accepted of the See of *Constantinople*, but in the prospect of appeasing the troubles of the Church, was sensibly touched at this Controversy, whose dangerous Consequences he foresaw. When it was his turn to speak, he strongly opposed those who offered at a new Election, and shewed to them that this Proposition was not only contrary to Peace, but also to Honour and Justice; That they ought to have more regard to the publick Advantage, than to particular Pretensions; That the Episcopacy was one, and that they ought not to make so great a distinction between the Bishops of the East, and those of the West; That if they had so great a passion to ordain a Patriarch of *Antioch*, the death of *Paulinus*, consumed with years and labours, would soon afford them an occasion; and that so they would lose nothing by offering him to remain alone in his See, since they might enjoy the right of giving him a Successor after his death, and satisfy their Consciences in restoring Peace to the Church.

*Greg. Naz.  
carm. de  
vita sua.*



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Greg. Naz.  
ib.

As wise as this Advice was, all the young Bishops rejected it, and alledged no other Reasons, than that they had had no share in the past agreement between the Bishops of *Antioch*; and that since Jesus Christ was pleased to appear in the East, it was just that the East should be preferred before the West. They drew after them a Party of the Ancients, who were afraid of exciting a greater Schism by their resistance. They vigorously entreated *Gregory*; but having found him inflexible, they lookt upon him as a Partisan of the Western People, and could no longer dispense with him. A proceeding so unreasonable very much displeased *Gregory*, who being unwilling to consent to their Injustice, and despairing of reducing them to Reason, went out of the Synod, and the Episcopal house where they were assembled, and resolved to make a renunciation of his Bishoprick, since he could not do all the good he wished therein.

LIII. *Theodosius* being informed of this disorder desired nothing so much as to put a stop to it. He exhorted both one and t<sup>o</sup>ther to unite for the common Interest of Religion. He approved the Sentiment of *Gregory*. But the Conspiracy of the rest became so general, that he thought it was not just to deprive them of the liberty of Votes, and that it was impossible to reduce so great a Party. All hopes were now at an end, unless the Bishops of *Egypt* and *Macedon*, who were expected every day, brought a calm. The Emperor had not presently called them to the Council; the first, because they favoured *Maximian*; the second, because they were Dependants of the Western Church. But as to the Affair of *Antioch*, he thought

thought that they might both serve to maintain the Rights of *Paulinus*; those of *Egypt*, because the Council of *Alexandria* had approved his ordination; those of *Macedon*, because he was tied to the Communion of Pope *Damasus*: But when they arrived, they considered only how to annul the Election of the Archbishop of *Constantinople*.

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LIV. *Timotheus*, Patriarch of *Alexandria*, protested that it was not lawful, since he had not intervened therein. Those, whom he had brought with him, being vexed that they had not stay'd to consult them, joined with him. Altho' every one in particular made a profession of honouring *Gregory*, and that there was no determined person whom they would advance in his room, yet they did not cease to fall upon him, in hatred to those who had elected him. Nevertheless, to cover their passion with some appearance of Justice, they alledged, that against the Canons he had passed from the Bishoprick of *Sasime* to that of *Nazianzum*, and from this last to that of *Constantinople*. Altho' an ill Custom had at that time sufficiently authorized these frequent Translations against the ancient Laws, yet this reproach did not belong to *Gregory*, whatsoever some Ecclesiastical Authors have written. For two Metropolitans having at the same time pretended to the Bishoprick of *Sasime*, he had yielded his Right for the advantage of Peace, and had never performed the office; and his Father having since called him to *Nazianzum* for his assistance in the government of that Church, he laboured therein as Coadjutor, not as Titular. Thus it was no difficult matter to justify himself thereupon, and to defend his promotion.

*Greg. Naz.  
Carm. d:  
vita sua.*

*Idem de  
Episcop.*

*Hieronym.  
de Scrip.  
Eccl.*

*Ruffin. l. 2.  
c. 9.  
Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 7.*

*Greg. Naz.  
epist. 42.  
c. 46.*

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Greg. Naz.  
Carm. de  
vita sua.

LV. The Bishops, who had elected him, and were dissatisfied upon it, would most willingly have deserted him; but decency required them to support what they had done. Gregory, being a little concerned that he should be the sport of the passions of Men who accused him, or took his part as the fancy prevailed, made use of this opportunity to execute the design which he had long since entertained of retiring. He entred into the Council, and said to the Bishops, *That he beg'd of them to desist in what related to him, and to consider nothing but the peace and union of the Church; That since he was the cause of the Tempest, he would willingly, like another Jonas, be cast into the Sea; That he had received the Bishoprick against his inclination, and that he resigned it with joy, as a Commission which had been entrusted with him; As also that his Age, and his Infirmities made him desire, after so many agitations, an interval of solituae and repose, in order to dispose him to die well. He bid them farewell, conjuring them, That since he had taken away the principal subject of their division, to reunite themselves in all the rest; and to give him a Successor that should be zealous for the good of the Church, and the defence of the Faith.*

Greg. Carm.  
de vita sua.

This discourse surprized the Bishops, but it was not displeasing to them. Some had the satisfaction of seeing him fall of himself, who had been made without them; others were glad of being delivered from the trouble of maintaining an action they repented of. The resignation of the Archbishop was received, and he went out of the Assembly without any one's importuning him to stay. Some holy Prelates stopt their ears, that they might not hear his resignation, and departed along with him.

LVI. There

LVI. There remained nothing more, than to make the Emperor agree to his design. He went to find him, and after having beg'd of him to establish Peace in the Council, and to retain by his Authority those whom the fear of God did not retain, he petitioned him for his permission to retire. *Theodosius*, who was not used to be entreated for such Favors, was surprized at his Request, and endeavored by strong Considerations to stop him; he would even interpose himself to maintain him in his Dignity. But the Archbishop represented to him, that it was not for so just and pious an Emperor as he, to prefer the Interests of a private Man to those of the whole Church; and that as for him, he thought himself obliged to make this sacrifice of his See, at a time when his old Age and Infirmities left him scarce any strength to assist his Flock, otherwise than by his Prayers and Wishes.

LVII. After having procured the Emperor's consent, he assembled the People in his Cathedral, and pronounced, in presence of all the Fathers of the Council, that last and celebrated Sermon, where he rendred an account of his Administration, and his Conduct. He represented the state of the Church of *Constantinople*, how the Faith had been revived in his time, how it was increased, what he had done and suffered upon that subject. He explained the Doctrine which he had preach'd, and trusting to his innocence, after the example of *Samuel* and *St. Paul*, he took his Auditors for Witnesses of his disinterestedness, and the care he had taken, after having declared the Gospel to them, to be enclosed within himself,

Greg. Naz.  
Orat. 32.



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Item Orat.

32. &amp; 49.

and to preserve the purity of his Priesthood. He exposed in a few words the principal causes of his Retirement, which were the Contests he saw raised in the Church, and the importunate Reproaches which were made him of treating the Hereticks with too much Civility, and of keeping nothing in his Retinue, his Table, or his Person, that testified the grandeur of his Rank: which they called ill supporting of his Dignity, and condemning too openly the excess and secular stateliness of others.

In a word, after having exhorted the People to retain the Faith which he had taught them, the Hereticks to be converted, the Courtiers to be reclaimed, the Bishops to reunite and quit their Sees like him, if they might thereby contribute towards a Peace; after having wished for his Successor a worthy Man, who without wanting Charity and Condescension, might have the Courage to procure Enemies for the sake of Justice: he took leave of each of his Churches, and particularly of his dear *Anastasy*, then of all the Societies and Orders of the City. He beg'd of them to remember him, and his labors, for which he demanded no other recompence, than the permission of retiring. Instead of the usual Applauses, there was heard nothing but Lamentations and Groans during this discourse: every one retired to his house drowned in tears; and the Archbishop being moved to compassion, but notwithstanding inflexible in his resolution, went to enjoy the pleasures of that solitude which he had always tenderly loved.

LVIII. *Theodosius*, who lookt upon the choice of a new Archbishop of *Constantinople*, as one of the

the most considerable affairs of the Empire, went the next day to the Council, and complained of those disputes, and continual dissensions, whereby the Catholicks underwent a scandal, and from whence the Hereticks reaped great advantages. He testified to the Bishops his displeasure, to see Gregory obliged to quit the See of his Imperial City, whereto it had been even necessary to call him, if he had been established therein, especially after the services he had rendered to this Church, and the dangers he had incurred in restoring Religion thereto. He told them, That notwithstanding his unwillingness to grant him his Conge, at a time when the Church had so much need of learned, peaceable, and holy Prelates, he had consented at his instant solicitations for the advantage of Peace: but that he requested of them to seek out a man, that might worthily supply his room, and to agree so well upon this choice, that there might be no longer a division amongst them.

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Socr. l. 7.

c. 7.

LIX. He ordered them to make each a memorial of those whom they esteemed capable of this charge, and to present him all those names in a single sheet, to the end that he might elect one from amongst all the rest. The Bishops being satisfied with the obtaining of their design, and resolved to pacify Theodosius, who appeared to them discontented at their past conduct, cast their eyes upon divers Subjects of their Acquaintance. As they were employed in this inquisition, Nestarius, born at Tarsus in Cilicia, of an ancient Family of Senators, who had exercised the charge of Governor of Constantinople, being about to return into his own Country, went by accident to see Diodorus his Bishop, to know if he had any thing to

Idem. c. 2.

Theod. l. 5.

c. 8.

Socrat. l. 5.

c. 8.

to command him before his departure: They discou<sup>r</sup>sed upon several matters: and as *Diodorus's* mind was full of this nomination, wherewith he was perhaps perplexed, he often considered *Nectarius*; and finding sweetness in his conversation, and something of Majesty and Veneration in his Behavior, and in his Face, he resolved to propose him.

Nevertheless without discovering himself to him, he pray'd him to accompany him to a Bishop, to whom he presented him with a mighty character. Afterwards he recommended *Nectarius* to him in secret, and was very urgent with him to give him his Vote, and to write his name with the rest. This Prelat, who was probably commissioned to prepare the sheet, and carry it to *Theodosius*, laughed at the request of *Diodorus*: notwithstanding he put *Nectarius* in the number of Pretenders, altho' he saw nothing in him of more recommendation, than his old age, and agreeable aspect.

LX. The Emperour, having demanded a few days after the memorial of the Bishops, examined it attentively; and after having viewed and reviewed the names of those who were proposed to succeed *Gregory*, he stopt at that of *Nectarius*, who was the least expected. He nominated him to the Archbishoprick of *Constantinople*; whether it was that he knew him better than the rest, because he belonged to his Court, or else that he thought him the fittest person to maintain a peace in the present conjuncture. For excepting his sweet and regulating temper, he had neither talents great enough to afford protection, nor virtues sufficiently eminent to be an example to those  
who

who would not imitate him. *Nectarius*, whom *Diodorus* had entreated to defer his journey till then, had advice of this news, and could not believe it. The greatest part of the Fathers of the Council were astonished at this choice, and demanded of one another, who this *Nectarius* was? from whence he came? and what was his profession? But when they understood that he had not led a life pure enough to deserve to be thus raised on a sudden to the Priesthood, and moreover that he was not yet baptized, they imagined that the Emperour had been surprized, and that chance alone, as it often happens in these encounters, had presided over this nomination.

LXI. They humbly remonstrated then to *Theodosius*, that with all the respect and deference they had for his will and pleasure, they could not hinder themselves from observing in *Nectarius* essential and canonical defects; that indeed his age, and the different employments he had enjoyed under Emperors, had given him great experience of the world, but that he had never passed through any degree of Clerkship, and that not having received Baptism, he was not in a condition to be a Bishop. Although there was nothing more just than this remonstrance, the Emperor had remarked so many Passions and Cabals in those, who offered it, that he thought since they had chased away the other Archbishop, they had a mind to exclude this also, in order to put one of their own party in the place. He persisted in his opinion, and the Bishops submitted without opposition.

LXII. Thus



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LXII. Thus *Nectarius* was elected by the Authority of the Prince, who found himself engaged to his election by the consent of the people, who admired his speech and obliging temper; and by the Votes of the Synod, who were afraid of displeasing *Theodosius*. He was baptized; and as he was yet invested with his robe of Neophyte, he was made Bishop, without appearing any otherwise disposed for the Bishoprick, than by not pretending to it. As he had scarce any acquaintance with Ecclesiastical affairs, they left him *Cyrillus* Bishop of *Adana* in *Cilicia*, *Evagrius* of *Pontus*, whom *Gregory* of *Nyssa* had made Deacon, and some other Clergy-men, the one to instruct him in the Episcopal office, the others to secure him from the surprizes of Hereticks. His life, after his ordination was exemplary, and his Faith always Orthodox: but he had so much easiness and indulgence for all the World, and so great an indifference for Discipline, that the *Arians* had remarkably prevailed over him, if the Emperour, to repair the fault he had committed, had not repressed them, and taken upon himself the vigilance and force, that was wanting to this Archbishop.

LXIII. This affair being thus determined, they began to think upon the conclusion of the Council. Those who had not assisted at the first Sessions, signed what had been decided therein against the Heresies, and against the abuses, which had been condemned. *Nectarius* was observed in the number of those chief Bishops, who were, as it were, the centers of the Communion in their Provinces. *Theodosius* on his side renewed his Edicts

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Socr. l.

7. c. 10.

Edicts in favour of Religion; and to close up the Council by some ceremony of note, he made to be transported to *Constantinople* the body of *Paul*, who had been heretofore Bishop thereof, and whom the *Arians* had inhumanely destroyed at *Cenchæ*, a little City of *Armenia*, where he had been banished by *Constantius*. All the Fathers went to meet these venerable Relicks, a good way beyond *Calcedon*, and conducted them, as it were in triumph, into the City. The Emperour commanded them to be laid in a Church, which *Adaspolonius* had built, after he had possessed himself of the See of this Saint. By this means the very Persecuter contributed to the glory of the Martyr; and *Theodosius* made appear by the honour which he rendered to the memory of those Prelates, who died in defence of the Faith, how little he esteemed those who fought against it during their life.

Thus concluded towards the end of *July* this Council, which the East acknowledged for oecumenical, and which the Pope *St. Gregory* since put in the number of the four, which he revered as the four Gospels. Particular passions and personal interests disturbed the course of this Assembly; but the truth was nevertheless established therein against the error of the *Macedonians*. Thus God re-united, for the confirmation of the Faith, the minds of men, which he abandons when he pleases, to their præpossessions and their own notions, and gathers from the contests and disorders, which oftentimes arise in Religion, the effects which his Providence has decreed to gather from thence.

LXIV. The

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Zor. L 4.

LXIV. The Bishops being separated to go each to his particular Church, *Theodosius* departed in order to go and joyn his Army, which *Prometius* one of his Generals had Orders to rendezvous at the entrance of *Assia*; the *Huns*, *Syrans*, and *Carpathians* mixed together, had made an irruption on this side, and had cast so great a terror in all the Neighbouring Provinces, that all the People of the Country had abandoned their harvests, and were retired in disorder to remote Cities. The Emperor encouraged them by his presence; and after having made a review of his Army, marched directly to the Enemies, and gave battle a few days after. Historians report no other circumstances, than that he gained a celebrated Victory, and defeated this Army of Barbarians, whereof the greatest part were killed; and the rest obliged to retire into their own Country, from whence they durst not appear any more. After this defeat, the Troops thought themselves invincible under *Theodosius*; and the People being perswaded, that they could not hereafter disturb them with security, resumed the care and management of their Land. Then the past losses were repaired, and the Empire enjoyed the fruits of the just and glorious Government of *Theodosius*.

Zor. ibid.

Oros. Hist.

LXV. It was about this time, that the King of *Persia* resolved to send a solemn Embassy to him; in order to desire his Friendship, and to conclude a firm alliance with him. These two Nations almost always armed one against the other; either for the regulation of borders, or upon ancient pretensions, and unexpected differences, which

often

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often arise between States, that are equally powerful, and Neighbouring, and had for a long time entertained a War, which was interrupted but by some intervals of Peace, and but some truces of a few years. *Constantius* had often attempted to pass the *Tygris* or *Euphrates*, and to extend his Frontiers on that side: but he had rarely succeeded; and if he had carried from time to time some advantages by his Generals, he was always beaten when personal there. But the misfortune fell only upon the Emperor and his Troops; and whether it was that the *Persians* had a mind to defend their Cities alone, or else knew not how to reap the advantage of their Victory, they did not gain an inch of ground upon the Empire.

*Ammian. l. 25.*

*Julian* continued the war: but having been killed in battle, and the Army which he had engaged in the Enemies Country, finding it self upon the point of being destroyed either by Arms, or Famine, the Officers assembled to elect a Captain, that might be able to disengage them from the extremity they were in, and cast their eyes upon *Jovian*, whom they chose Emperor by the consent of the whole Army. This Prince, who found himself obliged to repair the fault, which his Predecessors had committed, sought all opportunities of fighting, and even carried some advantages over the Enemies in some encounters. But *Sapor* King of *Persia*, who knew that the *Romans* were reduced to eat their Horses, did not care to come to handy blows with them, but had a mind to let them be consumed by Famine. Notwithstanding, altho' he saw them in this necessity, and might have suffered not one to escape, he feared the despair of so many brave men,



An. 381. men, and considered that what he should acquire by treaty, would be more permanent and secure, than what he should obtain by force of Arms. He sent first then to make to them proposals of Peace, as a kind of a favour.

*Ammian.  
lib. 25.*

This moderation, which he shewed, did not cease to be very severe: for besides that he kept them four days negotiating, at a time when they endured an extream hunger, he imposed upon them ignominious conditions, which the extremity they were in forced them to accept of. The terms were these, That the Emperor should yeild to the *Persians* five Provinces upon the *Tygrus*, with divers Castles; That he should restore to them the Cities of *Nisibis* and *Singara*; and particularly, that he should engage himself to furnish *Arfaces* King of *Armenia* with no assistance against the *Persians*, notwithstanding he was one of the most faithful Allies of the Empire. *Julian* was constrained to sign these Articles; and altho' he was urged, when out of danger, to infringe this agreement, which necessary alone had obliged him to make, and that the inhabitants of *Nisibis* had offered him to defend themselves, and to stop, as they had done several times, the whole power of the King of *Persia*, he would not consent to any proposal of Rupture, nor violate the Faith, which the misfortune of the time had compelled him to give. Hostages were sent on both sides, and a Peace concluded between the two Crowns for Thirty years.

*Ammian.  
l. 27.*

This Treaty was since a subject of division. The *Persians* swelled with this happy success, thought they might undertake all things, and the *Romans* sought but for an occasion to countervall the losses they had undergone. As *Armenia* lay between

between the two Empires, it might afford a considerable balance to affairs: So it was disputed on both sides who should become Master thereof.

*Sapor*, after he had kept himself sometime in Peace, resolved to possess himself of this Kingdom. He solicited the Nobility to submit to him; he forced the People by continual incursions into the Heart of their Country; and having drawn by his Caresses and Testimonies of Friendship, the King *Asaces* to an interview, he seized upon him, and put him to death in the Citadel of *Agaban*.

*Para*, Son of *Asaces*, fearing the same entertainment, went to throw himself by the counsel of the Queen his Mother, into the Arms of the Romans. *Valens*, the Successour of *Jovian*, received him, and sent him to *Neocesarea*, where he had the usage and education of a King. Sometime after he commanded *Terentius*, one of his Lieutenants, to carry this Prince back into *Armenia*, and to put him in possession of his Dominions, which required his presence. Altho the Emperor had been very cautious, and had commanded *Terentius* to lead no Troops, and not to assist at the Coronation of the King; *Sapor* notwithstanding complained that *Armenia* was relieved, and that they were wanting in one of the chief Articles of the last Treaty. He entred with an Army into this Kingdom; and being unable to seize upon the Person of the King, who had saved himself in the Mountains, where he remained concealed for five months, he ravaged the Country, and after a very tedious Siege took the Fort of *Artogerass*, where the Queen Mother was enclosed with the Treasures of the late King.

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Amn. an. l.  
27.

*Valens*, who saw the inevitable loss of *Armenia*, if a speedy remedy did not interfere, sent orders to Count *Arintheus* to march towards that side with the Army which he commanded, and to relieve the *Armenians*, if they still persisted to attack them. *Sapor*, who knew how to be humble and haughty according to the time, stooped as soon as he heard of the approach of the Imperial Army. He applied himself to gain the mind of King *Para*, by promising to him an inviolable Alliance and Protection, and engaged him by the encouragement of some Courtiers whom he had won, to rid himself of two Ministers, who had been very faithful and serviceable to him. In the mean time he sent Ambassadors to the Court of *Constantinople*, to represent there, that the Emperor had no manner of right to assist the King of *Armenia*; and that if he continued to join with him, and to relieve him with his Armies, it was an Infraction, which the King of *Persia* would be obliged to revenge.

*Valens* made no great esteem of this Embassy, and his Answer was nothing more than this, That he did not concern himself with the Controversies of the Persians and Armenians; that it was lawful for Sovereigns, to send Armies upon their Dominions, according as they judged it convenient for the good of their Affairs; that he made no League in prejudice of the Treaties; but that he had more right to protect the King of *Armenia*, than *Sapor* had to oppress him; and that if the one was against the Faith of a Treaty, the other was contrary to Justice, and all the Rights of Nations. Upon which he sent back the Ambassadors.

*Sapor* took this answer for an open Rupture, levied Troops, and made great Preparations of War

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War for the Spring. The Emperor on his side sent against him Count *Trajan*, and *Vademaire* King of the *Germans*, with orders to observe the *Persians*, and to commit no act of Hostility against them, till the utmost extremity.

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*Ammiat.*  
l. 29.

These two Generals marched with the Legions towards the frontier, taking always advantageous Posts for the Infantry, which made all the strength of their Army. There they kept themselves close, and even gave way on purpose, when they saw the enemy approach, lest they should be accused of being the first in the infringement of the Treaty. But at length, the *Persians* being come on to force them, in the consideration that they fled through cowardize, and not prudence, there was a necessity of coming to a close engagement. The fight was severe, and *Sapor* was constrained to retire to *Cresiphonte*, after he had lost the Battels, and demanded a Truce himself, which was immediately accorded to him.

In the mean time, those who had an eye upon the affairs of *Armenia*, wrote to the Emperour; that it was convenient to send thither another King; that all was in disorder; that *Para* misused his Subjects; and that he would oblige them by his pride to throw themselves into the arms of the King of *Persia*: which would be of great consequence in relation to the Empire. *Valens* having sent to desire his company, under pretence of conferring with him upon the present affairs, left him at *Tarsus* in *Cilicia*, without saying any thing to him; and gave him a good number of Officers, in appearance to serve him, but in reality to guard him. This young Prince being come to a sense of his imprisonment, and under a suspicion for his life, fled away one morning with so much haste,

M 2

that



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thar for all he was pursued by the shortest ways, he gain'd his own Dominions, without falling into the snares which were laid for him in several places. He was received of his people with much joy; and dissembling all the subjects he had to complain of the Emperour, he continued in that fidelity he had sworn to the Empire.

But those who commanded in *Armenia* and the adjacent Provinces, fearing lest he should give up his Kingdom to the *Persians*, wrote against him to the Court, and accused him of holding private intelligence with the Enemy; of having put to death two of his Ministers, that were affectionate to his service, and the Interests of the Empire; and above all, of meddling with enchantments and Magick. Several testified that he had a secret to transform Men, or to consume them by incurable languors: Those who pursued him, to excuse their ill success, affirmed that he had bewitched their eyes. *Valens*, who was credulous and mistrustful, and apprehended nothing so much as to perish by Inchantments, gave secret Orders, that they should either by force or artifice deliver him from so dangerous a man: which was put in execution not long after at a Feast, where this young Prince was inhumanely murdered.

*Ammian.*  
l. 30.

*Sapor*, being amazed at the loss of the last Bat-tel, and still more at the death of the King of *Armenia*, with whom he was in hopes to have concerted infallible measures against the *Romans*, had recourse to negotiation. He sent *Arfaces*, one of the chief Lords of his Court, to propose to the Emperour a friendly composition; and with their joint consent to ruine *Armenia*, which was without a King, and had been the single cause of their divisions, and their wars. *Valens* rejected the proposition,

position, and replied, That he kept up to the ancient Treaties, and would innovate nothing.

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After several shifts and turnings they came to menaces, and a little time after they prepared on both sides for War. *Valens* levied forces in the Country of the *Scythians*, and resolved to enter into *Persia* with three Bodies of an Army at the beginning of the Spring. *Sapor* solicited his Allies for assistance, and assembled a great Army. He even prevented the *Romans*, and threw himself upon some neighbouring Provinces, which they had newly won. The revolt of the *Goths* happening about that time, it was convenient to suffer all things from the *Persians*, and to make Peace with them upon conditions little honourable, but necessary.

LXVI. *Sapor* enjoyed the advantages which he had reaped from the juncture of affairs; and as he had been brought up in War from his youth, he was always meditating upon new attempts; and his ambition in an advanced age was not diminished. But when he came to know that *Theodosius* was Emperor, and had heard of his great qualities, and the mighty actions he had performed, he dispatched a famous Embassy to him; and whether he was touched at the reputation of this Prince, or was afraid of losing under him what he had gained under his Predecessors, he instructed his Ambassadors to tell him from him, That he congratulated his promotion to the Empire; That after having been at War with four Emperours, whom he could boast of vanquishing in several encounters, he was extremely glad to find one, with whom he might live in a perfect intelligence; That he would do him a favour in granting him his friendship, and in permitting him peace-

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ably to pass the remainder of his days in his alliance. He offered even to terminate the ancient contests of the two Nations, and to regulate their pretensions upon *Armenia* and *Iberia*, by a reasonable composition.

LXVII. *Theodosius*, who knew how necessary a Peace was for the Empire, and how expensive and incommodious Wars are to the People, even when they are glorious to the Kings that have undertaken them, understood these overtures of Peace with joy, and answered to the Ambassadors, *That he thanked their King for the offers he made to him, and that he might assure himself of his friendship; That since he had been called to the Empire, he had not only laboured to put an end to the Wars which he had found, but had avoided the opportunities of raising new ones; That his Predecessors had unquestionably some reasons to break with the Persians; but as for him, he would always answer to the intentions of Princes, who had a mind to live in a fair correspondence with him; and that their Master entertaining this resolution could not chuse a more sincere Friend, nor a more faithful Ally.* The Emperor had received these Ambassadors with an extraordinary magnificence; and after he had retained them some time in his Court, in order to decide with them the principal affairs of the two Empires, he sent them back loaded with rich Presents, and full of admiration at his Grandeur and Civility.

LXVIII. About this time arrived at *Constantinople* some Priests deputed from the Council of *Aquileia*, who came to condemn two Bishops of *Illyrium*, convicted of *Arianism*. They desired audience of the Emperor, and presented him with  
Letters

Letters from this Assembly, whereof *Ambrose* of *Milan*, and *Valerian* of *Aquileia*, were the Chief. An. 382.  
 These Prelates, after having rendered thanks to *Theodosius*, for delivering the Eastern Church from the oppression of the *Arians*, complained to him of the design which had been taken at *Constantinople*, of electing a Successor to *Meletius*; which they lookt upon as a persecution made to *Paulinus*, who had been always of their Communion. They entreated him, in order to regulate those controversies, to convocate a Council of the whole Catholic Church to meet at *Alexandria*, and to confirm it by his Imperial Authority. *Theodosius*, who had no greater desire than that of seeing Ecclesiastical differences at an end, would willingly have complied with their demands; but because he would do nothing without advice, and was afraid of assembling Spirits that were already upon the ferment, and hard to reunite, he wrote to the Bishops of the East, and prayed them to return to *Constantinople* at the beginning of the ensuing Summer, in order to deliberate there upon the proposition of the Western People. Theodor. 1.  
s. c. 9.

LXIX. A little while after the Emperor received other Letters, by which the Bishops of the West, after having represented to him a new the necessity of an universal Council, to condemn the Heresy of *Apollinaris*, to make a determination with whom it was necessary to communicate, to examine the Election of *Flavian*, and to appease all the troubles of the Church, entreated him to convocate this Assembly, and to agree that it might be held not at *Alexandria*, but at *Rome*. The Emperor *Gratian* approved of it, and joyned with the Bishops therein. *Theodosius*,



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who knew the delicacy of the Eastern People, who were spurred on by a false emulation against the rest, and jealous of certain Priviledges which they vainly attributed to themselves, foresaw that they would not easily consent to go to *Rome*. He was satisfied, that they would never suffer any reflections upon what they had done at *Constantinople*, and by that means division would encrease instead of lessening. He was not himself too much inclined to procure a new Council, where they proposed to give some blemish to that which he had held the year before. Wherefore he was not very fond of answering either to *Gratian*, or the Bishops, till such time as he had informed himself of the intentions of those whom he had sent for.

LXX. In the mean time *Maximus* began his Intreignes again. Chased from *Constantinople*, and repulsed by *Theodosius*, he was retired to *Alexandria*, near the Patriarch, who had imprudently favored him. There, meditating upon ways still to disturb the Church, he threatened this good old man to turn even him out of his See, if he did not make an end of settling him in that of *Gregory of Nazianzum*. Possibly he might have succeeded in it, if the Governor of *Egypt*, knowing his busie and dangerous Spirit, had not commanded him to depart the City. He was forced to live in the Country, where he kept in Peace for some time, even in spite of himself. But at the first noise of the Convocation of a general Council to *Rome*, he went immediately away, and arrived in *Italy*, to prepossess those who were not yet informed of his scandalous Life, and his intrusion to the Bishoprick. He went to find the  
Emperor

Emperor *Gratian*, and being acquainted with his zeal for the Catholick Religion, he presented him with a Book, which he pretended to have composed against the *Arians*. An. 382.

After that he addressed himself to the Bishops, and said, *That after so many ill Treatments he had received in the East, he was come at last into a place where Justice was observed, and where persecuted Prelates had always found their Asylum; That his Ordination was Canonical, done by several Bishops, authorized by the Patriarch of Alexandria, performed indeed in a private house, but at a time when the Arians were unhappily possessed of all the Churches; and that they had notwithstanding maintained Gregory, and had just elected Nectarius to his prejudice.* He shewed them his Letters of Communion with *Peter of Alexandria*, and was wanting in nothing that might move them to compassion for him, and stir them up against the Eastern People, with whom he knew they had Reasons to be dissatisfied.

By this artificial Discourse he revived the Passions of several, who were already prepossessed against the Eastern Church; and the wisdom of *Sr. Ambrose* was not proof against the dissimulation of this Hypocrite. These Prelates received him into their Communion as a worthy Man, who was persecuted in the East, and who was entituled, according to the Canons, to demand the Bishoprick of *Constantinople*. Nevertheless, as they were not sufficiently informed of the matter, they referred the decision of it to the Council, which was to be suddenly assembled from all parts of the world, and contented themselves with writing to *Theodosius*, to entreat him to have regard to the interests of *Maximus*, as much as the peace of the Church would permit it.

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Append.

Cod.

Theod. pag.

105.

LXXI. Whilst these things passed in the West, the Eastern Bishops being called a second time by the Emperor, arrived at *Constantinople*: The most part of those who were present there the year before came again, and those who could not go out of their Provinces, gave their Consents by writing, and Power to act in their Names. There was none but *Gregory of Nazianzum*, who had no share therein, and who excused himself upon the little effect that was for the most part reaped from those tumultuous Assemblies, and upon his Infirmities which would not permit him to undertake this Journey.

As soon as these Prelates were arrived, *Theodosius* communicated to them the Proposal of the *Italian* Bishops, and desired their advice upon the general Synod, which they had a mind to have held at *Rome*. They made answer, That they did not refuse to contribute towards a confirmation of the Faith, and the reunion of the Church; but they pray'd him to consider, that there was no such urgent occasion to oblige them to go so far; That whilst the West rejoiced in a profound Peace, the East had been agitated with cruel Tempests; and that after these Persecutions, the Churches stood in need of the presence of their Pastors; That besides they had not the consent of their Brothers, but for the Council of *Constantinople*, and that there was not sufficient time to consult them upon the subject of that of *Rome*.

They made the same Reply to those who had invited them to this Council. They added a profession of Faith, whereby they acknowledged the Trinity, and the Incarnation; and after having rendred them an account of the election of *Nectarius*, and that of *Flavian*, they desired them to approve

prove thereof, and to abandon their particular Affections for the common Interest of the Church. They also deputed three Bishops of their Body to those of *Italy*, to testify their desires to see them, and to assure them of their inclinations for Union, and their zeal for the Faith. The Emperor observing under these demonstrations of Friendship and Religion, abundance of coldness and indifference in their minds, received their Excuses, and thought it convenient to hinder an Assembly that would be composed of two Parties already formed, and which in all appearance would produce nothing but disturbances, like those he had seen at *Constantinople* with so much displeasure. Whereupon he sent word to the Emperor *Gratian*, and to the Bishops of *Italy*, That he had made serious reflections upon the demand which had been proposed for a general Council at *Rome*, and that the Prelates of his Empire, whom he had consulted thereupon, had alledged to him the difficulty of the Journey, in an advanced season, and the small likelihood there was, that they might be able to leave their Churches, in order to be present at an Assembly which was not of that necessity after the Council of *Constantinople*; That he could not resist these Allegations, but he pray'd them to be persuaded that he would contribute towards Peace with the utmost of his power, and would dispose all those thereto, that were Dependants upon him.

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LXXII. In the mean time the *Goths* of *Athanasius's* Retinue, were arrived in their own Country. As they had not been chased away for any subject of particular hatred, they were received without any difficulty. The Fidelity which they had preserved to their Prince to the very last, appeared commendable to the very *Barbarians*; and *Fritigern*,

to



to whom it imported to esteem so good an example, willingly retained them near his person, and favoured them upon every occasion.

These did not cease to declare the mighty things they had seen at *Constantinople*, and above all to praise the magnificence and courtesie of *Theodosius*. They entertained the King and People with the Civilities and Endearments which he had shewed *Athanasius*, and the Honours he had rendered to him after his death. They exposed the Presents he had made to them: they repeated the obliging words he had said to them, and by virtue of relating the great qualities of the Emperor they reduced their whole Nation, as much possible against him as it was, to fear him and esteem him.

LXXIII. *Fritigern*, who saw himself advanced in years, who was afraid of Revolutions, and besides knew how to prize and acknowledge virtue, resolved to seek the alliance and protection of a Prince, that was represented to him so puissant and so generous. He proposed his design to the Army. The Captains and Soldiers consented thereto; the one being affected with the good entertainment of their Companions, the other encouraged by the hopes of serving a liberal and gracious Emperor. The King solicited the *Goths*, who had been associated with him during several years, to pursue the same intention; but they refused it, whether it was that they were urged to go and join the body of their Nation from which they were divided; or else that they were in hopes their Cavalry might still be able to make some irruptions upon the lands of the Empire, and carry off some considerable booty.

*Fritigern*

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*Fritigern* then made choice of the chief Cap-  
tains of his Army, and sent them to *Theodosius* in  
order to desire his friendship, and to entreat him  
to entertain for him and all his People the same  
goodness which he had discovered for *Athmaric*,  
and those of his Retinue. He promised to be in-  
solubly fixed to the interests of the Empire, and  
to do it as much service, if it lay in his power, as  
he had prejudice heretofore, under an Emperor  
less wise and generous than he.

*Theodosius* received this Deputation with all the  
honour and testimonies of friendship imaginable.  
He promised to treat the *Goths* as his Allies, and  
to love them as his Subjects. Altho' they had pro-  
posed to him no Condition, he made them very  
advantageous ones, giving Orders for the provi-  
ding them with Necessaries in abundance, and as-  
signing to them Lands in certain Provinces of the  
Empire. The *Goths* from this time were always  
serviceable to the Emperor. There was a matter  
of twenty thousand who served in divers places  
amongst his Troops; the rest confined themselves  
to the banks of the *Danube*, to obstruct the incur-  
sions of other *Barbarians* into the Countrey of the  
Romans.

207. l. 4.  
Oros.

LXXIV. About this time the Bishops of *Italy*  
renewed their instances with *Gratian*, upon the  
convocation of a general Council, which they pre-  
tended to hold at *Rome*: but this Prince referred  
them to *Theodosius*, to discharge himself of this  
care, that he might not enter into the Disputes  
between the Eastern and Western Bishops. They  
wrote to *Theodosius* then upon this Subject. They  
added thereto Complaints against the Elections  
of *Flavian* and *Nectarius*. They even disapproved

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of that of Gregory of Nazianzen, and declared themselves in favor of Maximus, desiring that the Cause might be decided at Rome, as those of Athanasius, Peter of Alexandria, and many other Prelates of the East, who had recourse to the judgment of the Roman Church. The Emperor, to put an end to this affair, and to remove all subjects of division, wrote to them smartly, That their Reasons were not sufficient to assemble an universal Council. That the Elections of Nectarius and Flavian having been made in the East, they ought not to be judged out of places where all the Parties were present; That the Bishops of the East had some reason to be offended at their unreasonable demands; That as for Maximus, he admired that such enlightened Prelates had been so credulous in relation to a notorious Impostor, whom he was resolved to punish, if he was impudent enough to come near Constantinople.

Thus Theodosius was careful of the affairs of the State, together with those of the Church, and deserved the favor of God in so many wonderful Successes, which made his Reign worthy of admiration and praise.

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## THE HISTORY

### OF THEODOSIUS *the Great.*

## BOOK III.

**I** *Theodosius* reigned peaceably in the East. His people lived in quiet and abundance; and his Adversaries were become his Friends. Whilst the whole World revered his greatness, or were afraid of his power, he applied himself to regulate his Dominion, and to re-establish in its purity that Religion, which his Predecessors had oppressed; and he regarded the Peace which he enjoyed, as a Reward for that he gave the Church.

II. The Empire of the West had been no less successful, if the weakness, or negligence of the Emperors had not afforded occasions for revolts, and Civil Wars. The young *Valentinian* who had for his division *Italy, Africk and Illyrium*, was not yet of a capable Age to govern, and the Empress his Mother abused his name, and his Authority.

*Ambros.  
Orat. in*

*fun. Valen.*



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She was an *Arian*, and thought it a good piece of service to her Son, to render him so too. The cares of her Regency extended no further than to the obtaining of a Bishop of her own Party, or to the depriving the Catholics of a Church. She distributed her favours to those, who obliged her with a compliance to her passions, and she could not imagine that the State could have other Enemies, than those who opposed her error. All things were to be feared under an infant Emperor, in whom were imprinted ill apprehensions of things, and under a Heretic Empress, who was more sedulous for the advancement of her Sect, than for the peace and security of the Empire.

III. *Gratian*, who reigned on this side the *Alps*, was in the flower of his Age, formidable to his Enemies, over whom he had obtained several victories. He had a great fund of justice, and natural goodness, which might have gained him the affection of the People; but he abandoned himself to the interested counsels of his Ministers, and had no manner of application to business. He was of a sweet temper, polite, modest, complaisant. He was a Scholar; and whether he was to speak in public, or write in Verse and Prose, it was easie to judge that he had improved by the instructions of *Ausonius*, and that *Ausonius* had found in him an excellent Genius. As for his inclinations, they were all generous, and disposed to good. He enjoyed in the heat of his youth the chastity and temperance of an old man. He was not only sincere, but also liberal to his Friends. He loved to grant favours, and sought even to prevent desires. Never was Prince more active

*Ammian. l.*  
31.

*Aur. Victor.*  
*in Gratian*

*Auson. in*  
*Panegy.*

active, or more vigilant in war: he was always at the head of his Troops, and marched the first to the Enemy. After the fight, he took care of the wounded Soldiers, whom he went to comfort in their Tents: he lookt after all their necessities himself, and oftentimes dressed their wounds with his own hands.

Am. 383.

All Ecclesiastical Authors commend his Piety toward God, and his most ardent zeal for the purity of Faith. So many great qualities, joyned to an admirable grace in all his actions, and to the beauty of his Face, seemed as an earnest of his happiness. But he had so great an aversion for labour, and such an extream passion for hunting, and other corporal exercises, that he consumed whole days in lancing the Javelin and shooting beasts in a Park. His Governors entertained him in this idleness instead of exposing to him the inconveniences of it; and whilst this young Prince made an employment of a Recreation, and reposed all his glory in an unprofitable dexterity, they were Masters of affairs, and applied themselves to their particular Interests.

Ruffin.  
Ambros.  
August.  
c.

Victor. in  
Grat.  
Ammian. l.  
31.

IV. Things were in this condition, when *Maximus* General of the Roman Army in England, made himself to be proclaimed Emperor. Besides that his Ambition had disposed him of a long time to attempt all things to Reign, and that descending from the house of *Holena*, the Mother of *Constantine* the great, he lookt upon the Empire, as his propriety, he could not dispence with *Gratian's* preferring *Theodosius* before him. Nettled against one, and jealous of the other, he immediately won the cheif Officers of the Army. He drew the most part of the Eng-

Victor. in  
Grat.  
Ammian. l.  
31.  
Sulp. Sever.  
l. 2. c. 62.

Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 11.

Ann. 383.

lish Lords to his side, and afterwards made use of all the favourable conjunctures to introduce rebellion into Gaul and Italy.

Symm. l. 5.  
Ez. 11.

Zoz. l. 4.

*Gratian* had attempted to ruine the Religion of the *Pagans*, which his Father, through Policy, had always spared. He had already weakened it considerably, by retrenching the Revenues which the Priests enjoyed, and the Sums which the State had been obliged to furnish towards the maintenance of Sacrifices. He had invested the Prefect of *Rome* with power to examine all controversies relating to Idolatry. He would not even accept of a title, which favoured of superstition, refusing the name and habit of Chief Priest, which his Predecessors, for reasons of State, had retained till then. So generous a zeal incensed the *Pagans*, and especially some *Roman* Senators, who were the Chief.

V. *Maximus* finding them disposed to favour his revolt, made them hope that he would restore to their Gods the Honor which they were just deprived of, and that he would re-establish their Altars, their Priests, and their Sacrifices. Altho' he was a Christian, he appeared to them so much inclined to restore the Adoration of their Idols, that they respected him as their Deliverer, and began to extol him highly, as if *Gratian* had been the Tyrant, and *Maximus* the lawful Prince. Thus the one betrayed the Emperor by a prepossession of Religion, the other betrayed his Religion by a violent passion of becoming Emperor.

VI. He debauched the Army as easily as he had enticed the Senate. *Gratian* had not managed the Officers of the *Roman* Troops as he ought

to

to have done. He frequently preferred *Alain* Soldiers before them, and other *Barbarians*, whom he honored with his Confidence and Favors; and whether he found them fitter for his designs, or was in hopes thereby to attract to his Service all their Nation, he kept them about his Person, and even took pleasure in dressing himself after their Mode. This conduct made him odious to the Legions, who had served him with so much advantage, and to obtain the affection of Strangers, he lost himself in the opinion of his own Soldiers. *Maximus* made use of this opportunity: He underhand solicited those Troops, who were already but too sensible of the contempt which was entertained of them. Some add, that he sent them advice of his secret correspondence with *Theodosius*, and that he acted in concert with him. Ad. 383.  
Zoz. l. 4.  
P at at. in  
Panegy.

One Empire did not suffice the ambition of this Rebel. He thought that after having ruined *Gratian*, he might easily compass the end of *Valentinian*, and his Mother *Justine*: The age of one, the infirmity of the other, and the hatred of all good men, which they had procured by persecuting the Catholics, made him hope to render himself Master of the two Empires, to become formidable at least to *Theodosius*, and to enjoy without disturbance the advantage of his crimes.

VII. Upon this expectation he put himself to Sea, and came to descend with his Army towards the Mouth of the *Rhine*. The Troops which were in Quarters about *Germany*, acknowledged him immediately for their Emperor, and all the Garrisons received him. *Gratian*, astonished at this Revolution, assembled that part of the Army, which he had retained near him, and Zoz. l. 4.



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advanced towards the Rebels, with a resolution to give them Battle. The two Armies were about five days in sight of each other, without *Maximus's* coming to a decisive Battle. Then the Legions, dissatisfied with *Gratian*, appeared disordered. All the *Alps* Horse detached itself to go and join the Rebels; the body of the Army followed their example; the People, who love Novelty, and are always of the strongest side, declared themselves presently after, and *Maximus* was absolute in *Gaul*, as soon as he arrived there.

VIII. *Gratian*, upon the first noise of this Revolt, had called the *Huns* and *Alains* to his Relief; but they did not come in time. There remained only near his Person a few Troops, whose Fidelity was suspected to him. Thus, being abandoned of his own men, refused of the Cities he passed by, scarce any one to defend him, nor even to accompany him, he wandered in his own proper Empire. At length he fled towards the *Alps*, attended by Three Hundred Horse, which he had assembled with much ado, in order to assist him in his Flight: but he found all the Passages guarded by those he had reason to mistrust. He went back again, uncertain of the way he was to take to save himself. As he arrived at *Lions*, he had advice from several places, that the Empress his Wife was coming to seek him, in order to accompany him in his adversity.

Socrat. l. 5.

c. 11.

Sozom. l.

7. c. 13.

IX. This Prince forgetting for a time the danger he was in, more affected with the misfortunes of this Princess, than his own, recalled in his mind all his Love, and passed the *Rhine* with a design

TO

to meet her. As soon as he was upon the Shore, he discerned a Litter encompassed with Guards. He hastened to it: but he saw come out, instead of his Wife, Count *Andragathus* General of the Horse, whom *Maximus* had dispatched after him in haste. This Traytor having surprized him in his Snares, seized him, and most inhumanely murdered him, the Four and twentieth of September, in the Eight and twentieth Year of his Age, and the Sixteenth of his Empire.

*Ammian.*  
l. 27.

Such was the Destiny of this Emperor. He suffered Death with Constancy; and all the concern he had upon him was for the absence of *S<sup>r</sup>. Ambrosius*, who might have disposed him to a holy Death. The Church, which he had always defended, bemoaned his loss; and those, who reign after him, may draw from him this instruction, that it concerns their Reputation, Peace, and even Safety, to govern by themselves those States, wherewith they are charged.

*Ambros. in*  
*Orat. de*  
*obitu Gr.*

*X. Maximus* puffed up with so many Successes, was ready to pass into *Italy*, and surprize *Valentinian*, a young Prince without Experience, and without Force. But besides that, it was necessary to give some Orders in the Provinces newly subdued, he judged it convenient, before he passed the *Alps*, to sound the intentions of *Theodosius*. He sent Ambassadors to him, with Instructions to offer him his Friendship, if he would associate him to the Empire, or to declare War against him, if he refused it. *Theodosius* being sensibly touched at the Death of *Gratian* his Friend, and Benefactor, had already resolved to revenge it; but as he had reserved himself but a small number of Troops, since the general Peace throughout the East,

*Zoz. l. 4.*

An. 383.

Zoz. *ibid.*

East, he was afraid lest *Valentinian* should be oppressed, before he was in a condition to defend him. He dissembled his design, and replied to the Ambassadors, that he accepted the Offers of *Maximus*; that he did not oppose what the Army had done for him; and since he possessed the place of *Gratian*, he lookt upon him as his Successor to the Empire. The necessity of things obliged him thus to treat him as a Colleague, till he was in a posture to declare himself his Enemy.

XI. But whilst he entred into Negotiation with him, the Empress *Justine* imagined every moment, that *Maximus* was coming to thunder upon *Italy*. She had neither Army to oppose him, nor expectation of Succor from her Allies. She resolved then to send Ambassadors to him, in order to prevail on him by her Submissions, and to stop him on t<sup>h</sup> other side of the *Alps*. But she found no one in her Court, who could, or would undertake so difficult a Negotiation: infomuch that she was constrained to have recourse to *S<sup>t</sup>. Ambrose*. She suspended for a time the Hatred which she had conceived against him, and conjured him on the part of the Emperor, her Son, to undertake this Embassy. The holy Bishop willingly accepted of this Employment, and went away in haste, being resolved to sacrifice his Repose, and his very Life for his Prince and Country. He found *Maximus* in a state of enterprizing all things. His Conquests, instead of satisfying his Ambition, had incensed him. To be Master of *Gaul*, *Spain*, and *England*, he accounted of small importance, if he did not reign in *Italy*: He came from spilling the blood of one Emperor, he went to chase the other from his Empire.

XII. But

An. 383.

XII. But this Prelat spoke to him with so much force, and performed so well by his eloquence and address, that he made him abandon the resolution he had taken to pass the Alps. His Arms fell out of his hands, and whether the respect and veneration he conceived for this great man, had suggested to him some great moderation, or that he perceived his Passions to relent by his affecting free discourses, or else that God, who is the Master of Kings, and lets loose Tyrants in his anger, and retains them when he pleases, had prescribed his bounds to this; did, without knowing why, what St. *Ambrose* desired of him. Contrary to all appearance he stopt at *Gaul*, established at *Treves* the seat of his new Dominion, and took the Title of *Augustus* with the consent of the two Emperors. He repented afterwards of having lost so favourable an opportunity, and complained often that the Archbishop of *Milan* had enchanted him. *Ambros. Ep.* 33.

XIII. About this time *Theodosius* observing his Son *Arcadius* to grow up, resolved to declare him *Augustus*, altho he was but Seven or Eight Years old. The Ceremony was performed in a Palace called the *Tribunal*, designed for the Coronation of the Emperors, in presence of all the Lords of the Court, and several Bishops. Every one testified by his Acclamations, the joy he had to see this Young Prince invested with the Imperial Habits, and wished that he might possess the Vertues of his Father, as he had received his Dignity. *Socrat. l. 5. c. 10. Sozom. l. 7. c. 12.*

XIV. *Theodosius*





**A**h. 8. XIV. *Theodosius* was extremely satisfied with having made a new Emperor out of his Family, and with the public Approbation. But he was more intent upon his Education than his Establishment, and thought it was of little importance to leave him ample Territories, if he did not leave him Wisdom to govern them. He had a long time sought for the wisest and learnedest man of the Empire, to entrust him with this Infant, who was one day to be the Master of so many People. He had sent to the Emperor *Gratian* concerning it, and *Gratian* had entreated Pope *Damasus* to make himself a choice of so much moment, and to dispatch him to *Constantinople*, whom he should esteem worthy of this Employment. This Pope, who was well versed in good literature, had an exemplary Piety, and an excellent Judgment, cast his Eyes upon *Arsenius* Deacon of the *Roman* Church, whose Vertue and Learning he was acquainted with.

XV. He was a man of a very noble Family, absolute in the *Greek* and *Latin* Tongues, in Human Sciences, and the Study of the Holy Scriptures. As worthy as he was of the greatest Stations, and the chief Dignities of the Church, he never had any other prospect than that of his Salvation. Altho his inclination had ever disposed him to a retirement, and that he was very austere in relation to himself, yet he did not fly from an honest Society, and was troublesome to no body. *Damasus* proposed him as a wise man, who lived in the Court without being corrupted, and who would give not only good instructions to the Prince, but also good Examples to the Courtiers.

XVI. The

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XVI. The Emperor received *Arsenius* as a Treasure sent from Heaven itself, and prayed him to be careful of the Education of *Arcadius*, to look upon him as his own Son, to take over him all the Authority of a Father, and to make of him by his instructions a wise and pious Emperor. He recommended to this Young Prince Docility, Obedience, and Respect, and repeated to him several times these words: *Remember, my Son, that you will be more obliged to your Tutor, than to my self. You have from me your Birth and an Empire; you will learn of him Wisdom, and the Fear of God, and from henceforth he will more justly claim the Title of Father, than I.* He was wanting in nothing, that might conduce to authorize the Master, and render the Pupil more respectful: for happening one day to enter into the Chamber of the Prince in order to assist at his Lecture, and having found him seated, and *Arsenius* standing before him, he complained of both.

Apud. Metaphrast. 8  
Mati. Sur.  
19. Julii.

*Arsenius* would excuse himself upon the honor he thought himself obliged to render to an Emperor; and upon the Respect which the Purple, wherewith he was invested, imprinted in him, but *Theodosius* without hearkening to his excuses, commanded him to sit down, and his Son to stand, and be uncovered during Lecture: and to take away all subject of Decorum, he ordered the Prince to lay aside all the marks of his Dignity, when he went to his Study; adding that he should hold him unworthy of the Empire, if he did not know how to render to every one his due, and with his Learning did not observe Acknowledgment and Piety.

XVII. *Arsenius*

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XVII. *Arsenius* applied himself not only to teach his Pupil good Literature, but also to educate him in the Faith, and in the Exercise of Christian Vertues. He studied his Inclinations, and maintained them, or redressed them as they were good or bad. This young Prince was of a lively, open-hearted Temper, of an easy and agreeable Humor, his Sentiments all noble and generous, and had a Soul naturally inclined to Religion and Justice. But he was averse to Labor, inconstant in his Friendships, ready and susceptible of all sorts of Impressions, and more disposed to credit those who flattered him in his defects, than those who endeavored to reclaim him.

*Arsenius* foreseeing the fatal consequences, that might proceed to an Emperor from these vicious Habits, after having attempted in vain to reform them by address, resolved to repress them by discreet severity. He reproved him several times, he complained to the Emperor his Father of his ungovernable Temper; he joyned at length this statement to his complaints and reprimands. *Arcadius* took the correction for an injury, and had a mind to rid himself of his Tutor. He communicated his design to one of his Officers, in whom he reposed much confidence, and commanded him to deliver him from a troublesome man, who misused him. This Officer promised him to execute his Orders, for fear he should charge some body else with them, and went secretly to advertise *Arsenius*, that he might provide for his own security.

XVIII. Altho *Arsenius* saw well, that it was nothing but a Childish passion; which might have

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have no consequence, yet making Reflections upon the unhappiness of Princes, who love almost as soon as they are born, those who delude them, and esteem those for Enemies who correct them, he seriously considered about leaving an Employment, wherein he hazarded his Life if he persisted in his constancy, and his Safety, if he took a soft, and remiss conduct. Heaven determined him almost at the same time to a profession more quiet and more holy. For as he asked God in the fervency of his Prayer, what method he should take to save himself, it is reported that he heard a Voice, which answered to him, *Arsenius*, avoid men, 'tis the means to secure thee.

*Ruffin. l. 3.*

A few days after he went out of *Constantinople* disguised, and took Sanctuary in the Deserts of *Agas*, where he passed above Fifty years among the Solitaries of *Scete*, without holding any correspondence with the world, living only upon Roots, scarce affording some few moments of sleep to the infirmity of Nature, employing days and nights in Prayer and Lamentation in his Cell, and fixing himself with an entire application of mind to his Salvation, till he arrived at the Age of Fourscore and fifteen years.

The Emperor received with a very sensible displeasure, the news of *Arsenius's* retirement, without knowing the occasion of it. He made him to be searched for through the whole extent of the Empire, but God had a mind to conceal him from the world, after he had drawn him from thence, in order to make of him a perfect model of a penitent and solitary Life. *Arcadius* did not know the loss he had sustained; but the People felt the effects of it, when confirmed in his Passions, governed by his Women and his Eunuchs, preferring



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preferring and destroying his Favorites himself, he gave occasion for those Revolutions, which began to ruine the *Roman Empire* without recovery.

XIX. *Theodosius*, after he had established his Son, applied himself to regulate the Affairs of the Church, which were no less considerable to him, than those of his Family. To satisfy his Zeal, and to leave no cause of Division in the East, when he should be in a condition to march against *Maximus*; he attempted on a sudden to confound all the Heresies, and to reunite all minds in the same Belief. In order to which, he summoned to *Constantinople* the Heads of the different Sects, to give an account of their Faith, and their motives of separation from the Catholics. They all repaired thither, some to endeavor a re-establishment in those Bishopricks which they had formerly usurped, the rest to sustain their opinions in a regular dispute.

Socrat. l. 5.

c. 10.

Sozom. l. 7.

c. 12.

The Emperor discovered his design to the Archbishop of *Constantinople*, and consulted him upon those measures he should esteem most proper for the Reunion of Religions. This Prelate, who had grown old at Court without any acquaintance with the holy Scriptures, or Ecclesiastical Rules, and moreover very little instructed in the state of the Questions and Controversies of the time, found himself in an extream perplexity. He was afraid of Disputes and Conferences, and knowing his own small Capacity, he had recourse to *Azelis* Bishop of the *Novatians*. This Prelate sent him back to *Sisinnus*, who was as yet but a Reader in their Church, and did not cease to be very intelligent in all kind of Learning, well versed in the reading of Church Authors. This man advised

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him to obstruct disputes and contests in the Synod, saying, that they provoked mens minds; instead of perswading them; that the desire of conquest, or the shame of being overcome, carried the wisest to dangerous extremities; and that by this method Charity was almost always injured, and Truth never brought to light.

XX. After which he proposed a compendious way to terminate those differences, without entering into long disputes of Learning. It was to take for the Judges of the present controversies the ancient Doctors of the Church, who had explained the Mysteries of the Christian Religion; adding that if the Hereticks insisted upon the testimonies of the ancient Fathers, it was easie to convict them, and if they refused to submit thereto, they would render themselves odious to the People.

He made good use of this advice, and came forthwith to confer with the Emperour about it. This Prince found that it was the most concise and easy expedient to succeed in his design; and rejoicing that he was disentangled from all those fruitless subtilties, which he did not understand, and that he could reduce to one single point so easy to prove, all the questions which divided the Church, he managed the affair with abundance of Prudence. One day when the Bishops were assembled, he entered into the Synod, spoke to them with much Sweetness and Gravity; and after having exhorted them to Peace, and a research after Truth, he questioned them concerning their opinions of the holy Doctors, who had treated of the Faith, and Doctrine of Jesus Christ before the late Hereticks; they answered, without Heli-  
tation;

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ration, that they acknowledged them for their Masters, and had a profound Veneration for them. Then Theodosius, *Either condemn those,* said he to them, *whom you just now praised, or confess what they have written concerning the Divinity of Jesus Christ.*

XXI. He spoke these words in so firm and absolute a tone, that the most obstinate remained without reply, confounded that they had betrayed themselves by acknowledging the Authority of the Ancients. The Emperor, who saw them in disorder, urged them to make choice of one or t<sup>o</sup>ther party : but as error is never at union with itself, there was a division amongst them. The *Demi-Arians*, who thought to be able to explain the Fathers in their favor, consented to a perseverance in the Doctrine of Antiquity ; the rest, who could not save themselves but by dispute, demanded to come to a discussion of the points contested : They grew warm insensibly one against another, as far as to upbraid each other with their opinions, either as contrary to the Testimony of the ancient Church, or as unwarrantable in Reason.

XXII. The Emperor taking the advantage of the disturbance they were in, declared to them that he would himself take care to unite them, and commanding every Sect to give him its Profession of Faith in writing, he went out of the Assembly. The most qualified amongst them were charged with the preparation of these Forms, which they concerted all together with an extream exactness, weighing all the words and syllables, and seeking all the softest methods to reconcile the Emperor to them, without doing prejudice at the same time to their opinions.

*Theodosius*

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*Theodosius* having sent for them a few days after they came to the Palace. *Demophilus*, who had, been chased from the See of *Constantinople*, declared by writing that the Son of God was but a creature; that he was not begotten of his Father, but had been created out of nothing; *Eunomius* Native of *Capadocia*, a man of a busie and seditious Spirit, who had been Bishop of *Cyzicum*, and whom even those of his own party could not endure, brought his Profession of Faith, as impious as the other, but conceived in terms more magnificent and respectful in reference to Jesus Christ. *Eleusius*, Chief of the *Macedonians*, presented his at the same time, wherein he enlarged himself upon the Greatness and Dignity of the Son of God, but rejecting the term of consubstantial, and still adding some Blasphemies against the Holy Ghost. He was a wavering man, and of little solidity, who had repented twice of his error, and relapsed into it as often, and at last died in Schism. The Patriarch *Nectarius*, and *Agelas* a *Novatian* Bishop gave also their Confession of Faith, in which they defended the Doctrine of the *Nicean* Council, and maintained the consubstantiality of the word.

XXIII. The Emperor took these Forms with much civility, and retired into his Closet. He perused them, and after having made his Prayer to draw the blessings of Heaven upon the Action he was going to do, he re-entred into the Hall where were the *Arian* Bishops: There, tearing in their presence their Confessions of Faith, and preserving none but that of the *Catholicks*, he declared to them, That he was resolved to suffer no other Religion in the whole extent of his Dominions, than that which acknowledged the Son of God to be Consubstantial



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to his Father; That it was time for them to reunite, and to receive the wholsom Doctrine of the ancient Church; That he would use all his Authority for the glory of God, from whom he held it; and that regarding them as his Adversaries, who should be those of Jesus Christ, he should know well how to make himself obeyed in a Point, wherein was concerned the safety and repose of his Subjects. After which he dismissed them, without staying for their Answer.

XXIV. The Majesty of the Prince, their division, their surprize, the approaching ruine of their Sects, the shame of having so ill defended their Causes, caused trouble and confusion in their minds. They withdrew from Court, and soon observing themselves to be abandoned of the greatest part of their Followers, they at length assembled together the remainders of their Parties, and were reduced to tell them for all their comfort, *That the number of the Elect was small; that the truth was usually persecuted upon earth; and that their Faith would be so much the more agreeable to God, as Men had more Authority to oppress it: which they had not been careful to declare, when they oppressed the Church themselves by force and violence.*

Cod. Theod.  
l. II. c. 12.  
de Heret.

XXV. To accomplish the destruction of these Heresies, the Emperor immediately sent out an Ordinance, whereby he prohibited Hereticks to assemble together, to instruct the People either in City or Countrey, to be possessed of any building that should have any manner of likeness to a Church, in a word to say or do any thing in private or publick, that was contrary to the Catholic Religion; permitting all the good Men of his Empire

to unite themselves in order to the chasing from civil society all those who should dare to contradict this Ordinance. He likewise enjoined all Officers and Magistrates to oblige the *Arians* to confine themselves within their Cities and Provinces, lest by a too free communication with the People, they should disperse abroad their venomous Principles. And to be assured of the execution of his Edicts, he ordered the Magistrates of those Cities, wherein the *Arians* should hold any Congregation, to be most severely punished, and the houses, wherein they should be caught, confiscated.

XXVI. There was need of an Authority like his, to repress a Sect so rebellious, so extensive, and so imperious. But notwithstanding all his vigor, he still retained much goodness. He terrified the Hereticks, without ordaining any Punishments for them. He kept them in obedience, without exacting forced Conversions; and leaving to God the affecting their hearts by his grace, he contented himself to humble them, by the little esteem he made of them, or to attract them by the favors which he shewed to all those who returned to his communion, and never came to threatnings, till he had practised all the ways of sweetness.

This candid Behavior oftentimes disturbed the Catholicks, who, by an inconsiderate zeal, were always for extirpating their Enemies. It gave occasion for a wise Remonstrance, which was made to him by *Amphilochus* Bishop of *Iconium*. *Theodosius* had resolved, as we have said, to abolish the multitude of Religions; and in order to gain the heads of Parties, or at least not to frighten them, he had several Conferences with them, and invited

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ted them by very pressing Considerations to hearken to a reunion. The Conducts he had with them, and the Civilities which he shewed them, gave a disturbance to several holy Bishops, who did not pierce into his designs. They were afraid of his being surprized by those artificial Men, who knew how to disguise their malice, and did not want Intrigues and Cabals in Court. They were also afflicted at his refusal to renew his Edicts against the *Arians*.

XXVII. As they found themselves obliged to go in a Body to wait upon this Prince, in order to the performing of their Duties to him, and to his Son *Arcadius*, lately created Emperor; *Amphilochus* a Prelate venerable for his Age, the purity of his Faith, and the knowledge of the holy Scriptures, otherwise very simple, and unpolished, followed the rest to the Palace. As soon as he came into the Hall of Audience, and appeared before *Theodosius*, he made him his Compliment with a very profound respect; and approaching afterwards to *Arcadius*, who was seated by his side, *God preserve thee, my Son*, said he to him, smiling faintly, and stroaking him upon the head. All the Company blushed, and the Emperor touched at this despising Behaviour, and those injurious Caresses which he made to his Son, made a sign to the Guards to take away the indiscreet old Man. Then the holy Bishop turning himself, said to him in a free and serious manner, *You are offended, Sir, when your Son is not as much honoured as your self. Don't you imagine that the heavenly Father is as tenderly sensible of the injury which is done to him, by those who refuse to adore his Son, and who blaspheme against him?* The Emperor admired this rustical wisdom, which was of more

Socr. l. 7.

c. 8.

Theod.

l. 5. c. 16.

Niceph. l.

12. c. 9.

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more account than all the prudence of the children of this world. He asked pardon of this Prelate, and after he had returned him thanks for his instruction, he gave him an assurance that he would make the best use thereof.

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XXVIII. Whilst the Hereticks deplored their ruine in the East, the Pagans, under the conduct of *Symmachus* the Senator, endeavoured to raise themselves at *Rome*. The Conjunctions were favourable. *Maximus* amused them in this design, and *Valentinian* was afraid of incensing *Maximus*. They wanted nothing but an opportunity to demand the re-establishment of their Religion, it was not long before they found one.

There hapned this year a great scarcity of Provisions throughout all *Italy*, as well by reason of the Winds and Droughts, as the little foresight of the Magistrates. *Rome* found itself reduced to all the extremities of Famine. Bread was sold there at an excessive Rate, and was only to be had by measure; the People were constrained to live upon Acorns and Roots; necessity increased every day. They were obliged to discharge this great City of part of its Inhabitants, and chased away the poorer sort, as if it had been lawful to add Exile to Poverty; and to consider those as Strangers, who were in the greatest want of Relief.

D. Ambros.

Ed. 31. l. 5.

Symmach.

l. 2. ep. 7.

D. Ambros.

Offic. l. 2. c.

7.

XXIX. *Symmachus* at that time held the first Rank in the Senate. His Quality, his Eloquence, his Employments, and the reputation of his Probity, rendred him very considerable to the Emperors. But whether it was out of a strong prepossession for the worship of false Gods, or out of a



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vain desire to support a decaying Religion, and to govern in the Party, he became not only troublesome in occasions, but also unfaithful to his Masters. He honoured them more or less, according as they spared, or oppressed the Idols. All the Edicts against the Pagans appeared to him Sacrileges; and all the publick Calamities passed in his mind for vengeance of incensed Heaven.

This Man always ready for new Intrigues of Complaint, or to present Petitions for the service of his Gods, supposing that the Famine, and the other misfortunes of the Empire, were divine Punishments, made up an eloquent Request, which he sent to the Emperor *Valentinian*. He entreated him, in the quality of Prefect of the City, and in the Name of all the Senate, to re-establish the Religion of *Rome*; to have regard to custom, and to the antiquity of a reasonable belief; to leave to this People accustomed to their liberty, the use of their Consciences at least; to re-establish the Altar of Victory, that Goddess, who had never forsok the *Romans* in their military Expeditions; to retain the name of her, if he did not fear her power, and to be willing at least to dissemble, after the example of some of his Predecessors, what he had resolved not to permit.

*Symmach.  
relat. ad  
Imp.*

He introduced *Rome*: all bathed in tears, who demanded of her Emperors that Worship wherein she had grown old, under which she had subdued all the World. He remonstrated as he went along, that it was too late to correct her; That if he was unwilling to acknowledge her Gods, he should leave them at least in repose; That it was credible, that all breathing the same Air, and being covered with the same Heaven, they adored in the bottom the same thing; That there were divers Philoso-

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Philosophies, and that it was of no importance by what method they obtained the truth, provided they arrived there. Ant. 383.

He added, That it was strange that magnificent Princes should reform what covetous Princes had established; That the Royal Treasury, instead of being filled with the Spoils of the Enemy, was enlarged by the retrenched Pensions of the Priests and Vestals, who made Vows for the Prosperity of the Empire; That the Famine, and other public Misfortunes, proceeded neither from the influences of the Stars, nor the rigor of Winters, nor the droughts of Summers, but from the wrath of God, who took away Necessaries from all those People who deprived their Ministers thereof.

He concluded by the Examples of the last Emperors; and exhorted *Valentinian* to leave Men the liberty which his Father of happy memory had permitted, and to consider that *Gratian* his Brother had followed the counsels of others, and did not know of his disobliging the Senate, when he attempted that change in Religion. He pressed the Council to determine suddenly thereupon, as if he had had measures to take upon the Answer which was to be received, as well to terrify the Court, as to give them no opportunity of consulting *Theodosius*.

They well foresaw that this Emperor would not be favourable to them, for they knew that he had sent *Cynegius*, *Præfectus Prætorio*, into *Egypt*, with orders to shut up the Temples, to abolish Sacrifices, to prohibite the *Pagans* the exercise of their Religion, not only in *Alexandria*, but likewise throughout the East; which this Officer had begun to execute with much Authority, with-  
out

out committing at the same time any violence.

XXX. The request of *Symmachus*, mixed with respect and boldness, presently astonished the young *Valentinian*. He feared all things, and had still before his eyes the bloody image of *Gratian* assassinated by his own proper friends. The Empress, who governed, considered her security, more than her Religion; and the reason of State was going to determine her against Justice and Piety. St. *Ambrose* had information of it, and opposing his lively and generous exhortations to the bold entreaties of the Gentiles, he wrote forthwith to *Valentinian*, and represented to him, That there was but one God, whom Emperors were obliged to obey, as well as the least of their Subjects; That it was to renounce his Faith, to consent to a profane worship; That the revenues of the Pagan Priests having been confiscated, it would not be to restore them their own, but to give them his; That they had much reason to complain of some retrenched privileges, they, who had neither spared the Churches, nor the very blood of Christians; That it was just to have regard to the demands of persons of quality and merit, but that in affairs of Religion he ought to consider God alone; That their zeal to support falsehood was an example, which ought to encourage him to perfect the truth; That to reserve to himself the liberty of committing no Sacrilege, was not to enterprize upon the Liberty of Rome; That it was matter of astonishment, that men of parts should demand of a Christian Prince the re-establishment of Idols.

*Ambros. Ep.*  
30. ad Val.

It was about two years since the Pagans had presented a like Request in the name of all the Senate; but it was afterwards discovered, that

it



it was nothing but a Cabal of some Senators, who abused the name of their Society, whereof the greatest part disapproved of this action, and put into the hands of Pope *Damasus* an act of protestation against the Request. St. *Ambrose* did not cease to alledge this example, to lessen the fear he might conceive of the Senate. He made him at length apprehend the vigour and zeal of the Bishops, and said to him with his usual liberty, *What will you reply to a Bishop, who shall tell you, the Church hath nothing to do with your presents, since you make them to the Pagan Gods? Go, and dispose of your offerings elsewhere, you that raise up the Altars of Idols. Jesus Christ is not concerned to receive your homage, since you render as much to his adversaries. Has not he expressed to you in his Gospel, that one cannot serve two Masters? The Christian Virgins have no privileges, and you afford them to the Vestals. And do you think that the Priests pray for you, who prefer the prayers of Gentiles before theirs? will you cast your self upon your minority for an excuse? Every age is perfect for Jesus Christ, and the very Infants have confessed him.*

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Ambr. Ep. 30.

Ambros.  
Ep. 31.

XXXI. In fine, he conjured him to decide nothing thereupon, without knowing the opinion of the great *Theodosius*, who ought to be instead of a Father to him, and whom he had been used to consult in affairs of importance. In the mean time he asked *Valentinian* for a copy of this writing, and a few days after he composed an answer for him full of strong and judicious reflections. He protests immediately that in the necessary wherein he finds himself of taking his precautions, and to illustrate this affair he searcht the solidity of reasoning, leaving *Symmachus* all the glory of



of eloquence and politeness, because 'tis the pro-  
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 as false as their Idols, and to say great things,  
 being unable to express what's true. He makes  
 Rome speak, and declare with much grace and  
 gravity, *That she has subdued the World by the va-*  
*lour of her Warriors, and not by the adoration of her*  
*Gods; That she doth not blush at her alteration, since*  
*she corrects herself; That she doth not ground the good-*  
*ness of her Religion upon years, but upon manners;*  
*That she had rather hear the will of God by the word of*  
*God, than by the intrails of murdered animals. That*  
*no body can speak better of God, than God himself; and*  
*that those men, who were not sufficiently enlightened to*  
*know themselves, could never arrive at the knowledge of*  
*their Creator.*

Afterwards he mocks at the Request of Symma-  
 chus, and represents that there is this difference  
 between the Gentiles and the Christians, that the  
 one entreat the Emperors to restore Peace to their  
 Gods, and the others beg of Jesus Christ to grant  
 Peace to the Emperors; That the one could not  
 dispense with the least retrenchment of their re-  
 venues without complaint, and the others deprive  
 themselves of their possessions, and resign their  
 lives with satisfaction; That the Vestals wanted  
 Privileges and Pensions, as if they were unca-  
 pable of being chaste for nothing; whereas the  
 Christian Virgins content themselves with a coarse  
 Vail, which hides their Face, and renouncing  
 for ever their Riches as well as their Pleasures,  
 they find all the reward of Vertue in Vertue it  
 self.

Then he remonstrated, that they were much to  
 blame for attributing all the misfortunes of the  
 State, to the retrenchment of the pensions of the  
 Priests

Priests and Vestals; That if their Gods revenge themselves upon the whole Empire, for the injury which was done to some particulars, they are unjust, and the vengeance is worse than the crime; That it is a long time since their Temples were deprived of all their priviledges, and hitherto they have not minded to send down revenge; That nothing had been done for their pacification, and yet the Fields were covered with an abundant Harvest, and that the Plenty was universal. In a word, he laughed at the precipitation which they testified for the Altar of Victory, which was but a name and a success of battels; and he exhorts *Valentinian* to consider in this occasion what he owed his Faith, and the remembrance of his Brother.

XXXII. This affair having being examined in the Emperors Council, altho this Court managed it self rather by considerations of policy, than by rulys of piety, it submitted to the reasons which *St. Ambrose* had alledged. The respect which they had for *Theodosius*, whose sentiments they were not ignorant of, prevailed over the fear which they conceived of the Tyrant *Maximus*, and it was judged better to afflict a small number of Senators, than to offend all the good men of the Empire. *Insomuch that Symmachus carried away nothing but the glory of having exercis'd his Eloquence, and well enough defended his bad cause: which gave occasion for a Poet of that time to say, That Victory must be a Goddess very blind, or very ungrateful, since she had abandoned her Defender to assist her Enemy.*

XXXIII. If the single name of *Theodosius* stop in the West the bold pretensions of Idolaters, his authority

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authority compleated in the East the ruine of the *Arian* Sect; whose fierce and seditious humor he had feared. *Gregory of Nazianzum*, who then lived in solitude, did not cease to hold correspondence at *Constantinople*; and altho he had made a resignation of the Archbishopsrick of this City, he preserved still the tenderness of a Father for that Church, which he had as it were raised from the dead. He was advertised by some of his Friends, that these Hereticks had Houses of retreat in *Constantinople*, where they secretly dispersed their errors, and where they hoped by their intrigues to be able to elude the rigor of the Prince's Edicts. He learnt at the same time, that those of the Sect of *Apollinarius* had the confidence to make a public Profession of their Doctrine, and openly to hold Assemblies, and that if order was not suddenly taken, all that had been hitherto done would be of no importance.

Greg. Naz.  
ad Nicet.

Cod.  
Theod. l. 13.  
de Her.

XXXIV. This holy man wrote to the Archbishop *Nectarius* concerning it, with all the respect he owed to his Dignity, but with all the Zeal he had for Religion, and revived the dormant Piety of this Prelate, whose intentions were good, but who was neither resolute enough, nor sufficiently active. The Emperor having been informed of this disorder, resolved to put an effectual remedy thereto, and ordered the publication of a solemn Edict, whereby he commanded an exact research after all those, who either taught or professed errors; that suspicious houses should be examined, and that without having regard to quality, or the protection of any one, those infamous Persons should be driven from the City; and from the Society of good men; so that living  
without

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without correspondence they might be injurious to no body, but themselves.

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XXXV. He regulated almost at the same time another disorder, which had reference to Religion. The Jews having lost all hopes of raising themselves, after the vain endeavors of the Emperor Julian to re-establish them, and being unable any longer to exercise their usual cruelties against the Christians, attempted to seduce some of them at least. To which end they bought Slaves that were baptized; and whether by persuasions, menaces, or force, they obliged them to renounce the Faith of Jesus Christ, and to embrace their Superstitions. Theodosius broke this commerce, and made an Ordinance, by which he prohibited their having any Christian Slave or Servant, preserving thus the unsteady Faith of the infirm from all the snares, which domestic and foreign enemies laid for it.

Cod.  
Theod. l. 5.  
de contrab.  
Emp.

XXXVI. Thus he reformed in time of Peace the disorders of the Empire, when God, to recompense him for the cares he took of his Church, gave him a second Son, who was named Honorius. All the Court was extremely joyful at the Birth of this Prince; and Theodosius observing the number of his Children to encrease, and enjoying the sincere affection of the People, acknowledged that Piety was the true cause of the repose of States, and the Prosperity of Families.

Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 12.  
Sozom. l. 7.  
c. 14.

XXXVII. About this time Maximus had Ambassadors at Constantinople; and altho he was peaceable possessor of those Provinces, which he had usurped, he still kept up his Negotiation with

Theodosius.



*Theodosius.* He had a mind to conclude a Treaty with him, in order to make appear that he was not only associated to the Empire, but also allied with the Emperors. The affair succeeded according to his wish. *Theodosius* made *Valentinian* enter therein, and the Alliance was accomplished between these three Princes. Their prospects were of a different nature. The Empress *Justine*, who absolutely governed her Son, engaged him to demand a Peace, to the end that being delivered from all fear, she might restore dejected *Arianism*, and humble the inflexible Spirit of St. *Ambrose*, who thwarted all her designs. *Maximus*, who watched but an occasion to throw himself into *Italy*, intended nothing but to honor himself by a Treaty, which he was resolved to infringe at the first opportunity. *Theodosius*, who feared the oppression of *Valentinian*, and was himself threatened with the irruption of the *Goths*, consented to all things. Thus it was probable a war would soon break out, since one was only retained by fear; the other lost nothing of his fierceness, or immoderate ambition; and that the last still maintained in his heart the desire of a just revenge.

XXXVIII. In the mean time each governed his Dominions according to his temper. *Maximus*, after having rendered himself Master of the Empire, whether he thought his Reign not secure without the destruction of the principal Friends of *Gratian*, or else wanted the confiscation of their Estates, in order to satisfy those Troops, who had not betrayed their Prince for nothing, put to death *Merobaudes*, a man illustrious for his Prudence, for his Integrity, and for several Consulships.

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He banished the Count *Balion*, one of the greatest Captains of his time, with orders to the Guards who conducted him, to burn him alive in the place of his Exile; which obliged him to kill himself upon the way. He seized upon Count *Narfes*, and *Leucadius* one of the most famous Magistrates of *Gaul*; and making a crime of Scarcity of the fidelity they had preserved to their Emperor, he destined them to the last punishment.

*Ambr. 84.*  
*Pacat. in*  
*Panegy.*

*D. Ambr.*  
*Epist. 27.*

XXXIX. *S<sup>t</sup>. Martin* Bishop of *Tours*, departed in haste in order to obtain their pardon. He cast himself at the feet of *Maximus*, and prayed him not to spill innocent blood; but he received only an ambiguous answer. He redoubled his instances, and threatening him with the judgments of God, he entreated him as if he had been commanded; but still no positive assurance could be drawn from him. Yet *Maximus* had some difficulty to refuse his demands, and lost before this Prelate his natural haughtiness and brutality. He called him oftentimes into his Closet, and heard him speak of heavenly things. He suffered his remonstrances, with his free and generous actions. He prayed him to eat at his Table; and when the Saint refused it, saying, that he would not participate of the Table of a man, who had dispossessed an Emperor of his Life and Empire; he answered to him, That the Army had raised him to the Throne against his will; that he had maintained himself therein by his Arms; that God himself seemed to have established him by so many wonderful successes; and that if any one had lost his Life, it had been the misfortune of war, and not his fault.

*Sulpit. Sev.*  
*de vita S.*  
*Martini.*

Aa. 384

XL. The Passion of obtaining this Bishop, so renowned for his Vertues, and his Miracles, the desire of sweetning the refusal which he had made him by outward Caresses, and especially the thoughts of winning, by appearances of Piety, those good Men whom he had scared by his Perfidiousness, obliged him to seek with so much haste the communication of the Saint, which he at length procured after long solicitations: but whatsoever Veneration he made appear for his Person, he had no regard to his Remonstrances, nor to his Prayers in the affair of *Priscillian* Bishop of *Avila*, and some of his Followers.

XLI. These Hereticks, *Spaniards* by Nation, joined to the Errors of *Sabellius*, and the ravings of the *Manicheans*, all the impurities of Gnosticks, in their nocturnal Assemblies with divers Women, whom they had seduced. They covered all their Infamies with some appearances of humility, an affected negligence in their habits, and a surprizing austerity of life. As this corruption, which an *Egyptian* had lately sowed in *Spain*, dispersed itself there, some Bishops opposed it: but their zeal not being accompanied with charity, they persecuted those whom they might perhaps have brought over by moderate Proceedings. They were cited before Councils. The Emperor *Gratian* had granted an Order to chase them from the Cities and Churches where they were, and even from all the Dominions of the Empire. But they found means to get themselves established again; and by Presents, or Intrigues, they won the Ministers of the Emperor, and chased their Adversaries at their turn.

XLII. These

XLII. These having learnt that *Maximus* was going to pass into *Gaul*, attended him there, went to find him at *Treves*, and presented to him a bloody Petition against *Priscillian* and his companions. They were all referred to a Council, which was to be held at *Bordeaux*. *Priscillian* fearing to be deposed there, would not answer and appealed to the Tribunal of the new Emperor. The Catholick Prelates, by a shameful compliance, demurred to this Appeal, and this Cause Ecclesiastical in every Point became a Civil Cause. The Accused was brought to Court, and the Accusers followed him, being resolved to destroy him, without putting themselves to the trouble of converting him.

XLIII. *St. Martin*, who was then at *Treves*, knowing that particular Passions had a greater share in this matter, than the love of Truth, remonstrated to them several times, That their Conduct was scandalous; That they lost the merit of their Zeal by their obstinate Accusations; That they subverted the whole Order of Ecclesiastical Judgments; That it was not a fitting thing to defend the Cause of God by humane Passions, nor becoming for Bishops to pursue to death any Criminal whatsoever.

They, to whom this instruction was directed, were incensed at it, instead of making an advantage thereof. They were enraged to that degree, as to accuse him of being the Protector of the Hereticks, and a Heretick himself. But the Saint laughed at this Calumny, and continued to pray the Emperor to let those miserable persons live, representing to him, That he ought to stand to the

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Bad Zeal  
may sell  
it wise  
but not  
good



*An. 385.* Sentence of the Council, which chased them from their Sees; and that it was a thing unheard of, for a secular Prince, such a one as he, to judge Ecclesiastical Causes. *Maximus* being affected with his Reasons, promised to save their Lives; but they provoked him in such a manner, that he referred the business of *Priscillian* to *Eudius* the *Prætor*, and made him condemn him to be beheaded.

*Sulpit. Sev. de vita S. Martini.* XLIV. This execution was the ground of several disorders: for the punishment of this Arch-Heretick did but corroborate his Heresy. Those of his Sect made a most stately Funeral for him, and honoured him as a Martyr; and those, who caused him to be condemned, abusing their own credit, and the favor of the Court, persecuted Men of worth at their pleasure. To fast, and love retirement, was sufficient to make a Man suspected to them; it was a Crime to be wiser, and more reformed, than they. They, who had disoblinded them, were presently *Priscillianists*, particularly when they might be Victims agreeable to the anger of the Prince, or might encrease his Treasury with their Spoils; for they deprived of life and possessions according to their fancy, and preserved the friendship of the Tyrant by Reproaches, Cruelties, and other Actions, resembling his.

*Pacat. in Panegyr.*

XLV. Whilst *Maximus* enterprized upon the Rights of the Church in the West, *Theodosius* re-established them at *Constantinople*. For some Bishops having brought an Ecclesiastical Cause before a secular Tribunal, and persons, whom their Age and Characters rendered venerable, having been cited and examined, he was much displeased when he heard of it. He made an Edict immediately,

diately, whereby he prohibited all his Judges ordinary or extraordinary to undertake those Causes which related to Religion; willing, that the Bishops, or other persons consecrated to God, should have their particular Judges, their Laws and their Formalities of Justice apart, and that Ecclesiastical matters should be referred to the Heads of those Diocesses wherein they should happen.

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XLVI. He forbid the Pagans almost at the same time to sacrifice to their Gods, and to search Futurity in the entrails of slain Beasts, as well to stop the insolence of some, who might have prevailed by their Correspondences in *Italy*, as to take from them the occasions of vain hopes by superstitious Presages and Observations, which had oftentimes caused Troubles and Seditions in the Empire.

August. ep. 48.

Ambros in Orat. fun. Theod.

XLVII. He applied himself also to a reformation of Manners, and repressed the liberty of certain singing Women and Players upon Instruments, who went from house to house, and by immodest Songs, and soft, effeminate Airs, corrupted the minds of Youth.

Cod. Theod. l. 10.

XLVIII. After he had thus restored Order and Discipline in his Dominions by severe Ordinances, he illustrated his Indulgence and his Piety by an Act of Clemency and Pardon. The Emperors had been used to deliver Prisoners every year towards *Easter*, in order to preserve some Criminals upon that day, wherein was accomplished the Mystery of the salvation of Mankind. *Constantine* the Great had put the same in practice, his Children had followed his example, and the young

Hier. ep. 10. ad Fur.

Append. Cod. Theod.

Ambr. ep. 33.

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*Valentinian* had made a Law of this custom. But the Piety of *Theodosius* went further; for he published an Ordinance, whereby he commanded the Prisons to be set open, and the Criminals to be released, to the end that partaking of the holiness and joy of the sacred Mysteries, instead of Complaints and Lamentations, they might send up to Heaven the cries of Praises and Thanksgivings, and that every one in this day of rejoicing might address in peace his Vows and Prayers to God, without being interrupted by compassion or heaviness.

*Chrysost.*  
hom. 6. ad  
pop. An-  
tioch.

But  
Not any  
wonderful  
were for  
But for  
other ruins  
doubtless  
this way  
S. Greg.  
Nyss. in  
fun. Pulch.

He added those words which a Pagan Emperor once said, and which *St. Chrysostom* esteemed so worthy of a Christian Emperor: *Would to God I was capable of opening the Tombs, as well as Prisons, and to revive the dead, as I do the living, by pardoning their Crimes.*

But lest a too great clemency should give occasion for the commission of all kind of wickedness, the Emperors made some exceptions in matters that tended to great consequences, and which deserved not to be comprehended in this Pardon.

XLIX. These diligent, and so important Cares which *Theodosius* took to regulate the Empire, were interrupted by his affliction for the death of the Princess *Pulcheria* his daughter. Altho' she was but in the first years of Infancy, he was very sensibly concerned at her loss. He ordered her Obsequies to be very magnificent, and *Gregory of Nyssa*, who was then at *Constantinople*, pronounced the funeral discourse. Scarce had he begun to comfort himself for this first misfortune, but there arrived another which rendred him inconsolable; for

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for the Empress *Flaccilla* his Wife died suddenly in a Village of *Thrace*, where she was gone to take the Waters.

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L. This Princess was born in *Spain*, of the ancient Family of the *Ælians*, from whence the Emperor *Adrian* was descended: but she was become more illustrious by her vertues, than her birth. Her chief employments were Prayer, and the care of the Poor. She went to visit them, served them herself, and was proud of descending to the lowest Ministries of Christian Charity. She took care of all the Sick in Hospitals and Prisons, and as horrible as their distempers were, she provided for them with her own hands. They would oftentimes remonstrate to her, that there was a devotion more conformable to her dignity, and that it was neither necessary, nor even becoming for her to condescend to those last offices of Piety, which she might entrust with some of her domesticks. But she answered, *That she left to the Emperor the care of distributing his Treasures, and to render the Church important services, by making the whole majesty of the Empire serve to the glory of Religion: That as for her, it was a sufficient honour to her to offer to God her little cares, and the humble service of her hands; and that she could not testify her acknowledgment to him, but by descending from the Throne wherein he had placed her, to serve him in the person of his Poor.*

Theodor. l. 5. c. 12.

Theod. ib.

This humility did but augment the esteem which the Emperor had for her, and gave her every day more influence upon the spirit of this Prince. She made use thereof to no other advantage, than to give him profitable advice, in speaking to him of the Divine Law, wherein she was



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perfectly acquainted, and inspiring him with that zeal for Religion wherewith she was inflamed. She often set before his eyes what he had been, for fear he should abuse what he was. Exciting thus his acknowledgment, by the recital of those Favours which he had received from God; and supporting his Piety, which the perplexity of business, and the exaltation wherein he found himself, might have weakned. She was more desirous to see him holy, than she was joyful to observe him Master of the World. Altho' she had great parts, she would never know more in matter of Religion, than was necessary for her salvation. She detested the impiety of the *Arians* almost as much as that of Idolaters, and frequently said, *That there was but little difference between those who adored*

*Sozom. l. 7. Gods that had no existence, and those who would not*  
*c. 5. acknowledge Jesus Christ to be one.* So would she never entertain any Commerce with them, avoiding the snares which they laid several times for her curiosity, and taking no other rule of her Faith, than the decisions of the *Nicean Council*. She even averted the Emperor from the design,

*Sozom. l. 7. which had been suggested to him of going to hear*  
*c. 6. Eunomius,* who preached at *Calcedon* over against *Constantinople*, and whom the *Arians* made pass for the finest genius, and most eloquent Theologian of his Age. By this means she hindred these Hereticks from giving ill impressions to this Prince, and the honour he should have done to them, was of no service to encrease the reputation of their Orator, or to authorize their Assemblies. *Theodosius* lost this dangerous curiosity, and even chased from his Palace some of his domesticks, who had a secret correspondence with *Eunomius*.

All these vertues of the Empress made her loss to be lamented. As soon as the news of her death was dispersed, all the City was in mourning, the Poor melted into tears, the People run in multitudes to the place where she was dead. *Theodosius* made her Body to be transported to *Constantinople*; and in the oppression he was, he could find no consolation but in rendring to this Princess all the honours which were justly her due. She left two living Children, and found again in Heaven two more, whom God had taken to himself a little after they were born. *Gregory of Nyssa* made her funeral Elogy in presence of the Emperor, where he calls her *the Pillar of the Church, the Treasure of the Poor, and the Sanctuary of the miserable.*

*Greg. Nyss.  
Orat. fun.  
Blaccilla*

LI. It was about this time that the Empress *Justine* incensed against *St. Ambrose*, thought she might discover her resentment. The death of *Gratian*, the distance of *Theodosius*, the Treaty concluded with *Maximus*, gave her the freedom of acting in the whole extent of her power. The Catholick Bishop elected at *Sirmium* in spite of her, the Church which she had obtained by surprise in *Milan*, and which she had been obliged to restore, her *Arianism* reduced to her own Officers, and all her enterprizes against Religion crossed, immediately returned into her mind. She resolved to destroy this Archbishop, who ruined all her measures.

LII. She made an Edict in the name of *Valentinian* her Son, whereby she permitted to the *Arians* the publick exercise of their Religion, and declared all those who should dare to oppose it, Authors of Sedition, Disturbers of the Peace of the

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Seq. l. 7.  
c. 13.  
*Gaudens  
in præfat.  
Serm.*

the Church, guilty of High-Treason, and worthy of Death. She called *Benivolus* first Secretary of State, and commanded him to draw up this Edict; but he excused himself, chusing rather to lose his station, than to authorize an Ordinance that was against his Faith. The Empress pressed him to afford her that satisfaction, and promised to raise him to higher Posts: but this Man, who esteemed himself more honoured with the Title of Catholic, than with all the Dignities of the Empire, replied to her generously, *I must not buy your Honors at this price, Madam; resume that which I possess, and leave me my Conscience, and my Religion.* At these words, he cast at the Feet of this Princess the Girdle, which was the mark of his Dignity, and retired to *Bresse*, where he passed the rest of his days in the exercise of Christian virtues.

*P. Ambros.  
Orat. in  
Aux.*

LIII. It was no hard matter to find an Officer to supply his room, and the Edict was immediately signed. But the *Arians* were at a loss for a Church, and had to do with an Archbishop, who was resolved not to yield them one. *Justine* had elected Bishop one *Auxentius*, a *Scythian* by Nation, expelled his Country for his Crimes, who had but an indifferent spirit, yet occasioned much noise. She was of opinion, that he should provoke St. *Ambrose* to a publick dispute in the Palace, hoping to discredit him, if he refused it; or if he accepted of it, to declare him vanquished by Judges peculiar to her Interest, and so to drive him from his Cathedral. The Tribune *Dalmatius* had Orders to go and make the Proposal to the Archbishop, and to mark the day which the Emperor had taken for this Conference, to the end that he might repair to the Palace with the Judges he should have chosen on his side.


LIV. The

LIV. The Saint being surprized at this Proposition, after he had consulted some Bishops that were near him, wrote to the Emperor, *That the Proposal which was made to him, was contrary to the Rights of the Church, the Custom of preceding Ages, and the Laws of the great Valentinian his Father; That it was not just for Laicks, or Gentiles, to be Judges of the Controversies of Faith; That in matter of Religion, Emperors were to be judged by Bishops, and not Bishops by Emperors; That he might dispose of his Life, but that he could not oblige him to dishonour his Priesthood; That he would answer Auxentius in a Council; That he would treat of the sacred Mysteries in the Church, but that he could not come to the Palace for that end, nor acknowledge for a Judge of Faith a Prince as yet very young, who was not a Catechumene.* He pray'd him to pardon his liberty, which was neither against the Respect, nor the Obedience which he owed him; and to excuse him, if he did not come himself to wait upon him with an Answer, because the Bishops and the People retain'd him, and that to abandon his Church in this occasion, was to deliver it up.

Ambros.  
ep. 52.

LV. The Empress being unable to engage the Saint to a Dispute, resolved to get him carried off. She corrupted, by Promises and Silver, a Man who waited for him several days in a house adjoining to the Church, with a Chariot always ready to seize upon him, and bear him full speed out of the City. But the Enterprize was discovered. There remained nothing more but to oppress this Prelate, whom they could not surprize. For this effect, *Justine* commanded all the Catholic Priests to leave their Churches. *Auxentius* had



 had Orders at the same time to take with him as  
 An. 385. many Soldiers as he would, and put himself in possession of them.

S. August.  
 Confess. l. 9.  
 c. 7.  
 Ambr. in  
 Auxent.

LVI. The noise being then dispersed about the City, that Soldiers were sent to seize upon the Churches, and to kill the Archbishop, if he made any difficulty of resigning them into their hands, the People run from all Parts, and enclosed themselves within the Cathedral, being resolved to defend both Church and Pastor to the last drop of their blood. St. *Ambrose* comforted the People by his constancy; by assurances of God's protection; by very edifying discourses of Piety; and by singing of Psalms which he had instituted, such as was practised in the East.

They had passed some days and nights in this condition, when the Tribunes invested the Church with their Soldiers, and summoned the Archbishop by vertue of the last Edict to resign it to them, offering him, as an act of mercy, the liberty of retiring with those who had a mind to follow him. The holy Prelate answered to them, *That they might oppress him in his Church, but that he would never leave it voluntarily; That if they came to question his Revenues, or even the Funds of the Church, he would dispense with that violence; but as for the inheritance of Jesus Christ, he would preserve it to the expence of his own Life; That indeed he had for Arms nothing but Lamentations, Tears, and Prayer; but that if he could not resist, however he would not fly; That he saw well how far the power of the Emperor might extend, but that he knew also how far the patience and constancy of a Bishop, who little esteemed the loss of his Life, provided he retained for God that fidelity which he owed to him, ought to extend also.*

LVII. Then

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LVII. Then the wisest Ministers remonstrated to the Emperor the difficulties of this Affair, and advised him to get rid of it by some accommodation, since the Court was engaged therein. The Governor of the City, who was charged with this Negotiation, came the next day to find the Archbishop, and very civilly told him, *That he had very reasonable Proposals to make to him; That the Emperor left him his Cathedral, and was contented to have a Church in the Suburbs, which was called the Portian Basilick; That since the Prince was pleased to relax on his side, it was convenient, for the advantage of Peace, that he relaxed also; That furthermore, he counselled him as a Friend to satisfy the Court, and even to do it speedily.* The People prevented the Reply, and unanimously cryed, pursuant to the intentions of their Pastor, *That there was no Composition to be had whereupon; That the Catholics should be left the Churches which belonged to them.* The Governor then despaired of succeeding, and went his way, to give his Master an account of the unhappy effect of his Negotiation.

*D. Ambr.  
ep. 33. ad  
Marcell.  
Sorum.*

LVIII. It was then that the malice, shame and anger of the Empress was manifested. She commanded all the Officers of the Guards to march with their Companies, and render themselves Masters of the Portian Church. They went there to execute their Orders, the People run in Arms to oppose them. It was the morning of Palm-Sunday; and St. Ambrose, after having preached, was going to begin Mass, when he received information of it. He did not cease to celebrate the Sacred Mysteries; and having learnt in the time of the Offering, that an Arian Priest was fallen into

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into the hands of the Citizens, and run the hazard of being torn in pieces; he sent his Priests and his Deacons to save his life. Then dissolving into tears, he beg'd of God to grant his People peace; and offered him his own life several times, for the safety of those who persecuted them.

Ambr. ib.

In the mean time all the City was in a terrible confusion. There was nothing to be seen but Soldiers and Citizens armed, the one for the Prince, the other for Religion. The Magistrates to appease this tumult, filled the Prisons with a great number of Tradesmen, and condemned to heavy punishments those who seemed to be most warm. But these corrections, instead of putting a stop to this disordered populace, did nothing but incense it. There went some Counts, some Captains of the Guards, and *Gabick Officers* to St. Ambrose, in order to advise him not to retain the People, and to put an end to this disturbance, since the Emperor demanded of him nothing more, than a Church of the Suburbs, and that it was fit he should be Master in his own Empire. The Holy Archbishop answered to them, *That the Emperor had no right upon the house of God; That he was ready to give up to him the small possessions he had left; That as for the Church, it was a crime for a Bishop to resign it, and a sacrilege for a Priest to seize upon it;*

Ambr. ib.

*That for the rest, he was so far from exciting the People, that he restrained them, and exhorted them to defend themselves but with tears and prayer; but that if they had been once in a fury, it appertained to God alone to pacify them.* These Officers had nothing to reply to him, and retired much improved by his conduct. The Archbishop went to visit a Church called the *Ancient Basilick*; and after having comforted the Inhabitants of that Quarter, he retired

to

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to his own house, and would never permit himself to be attended or guarded.

In the mean time, the Empress resolved to go the next day with the Emperor to take possession her self of the *Ancient Basilick*. She sent some Soldiers there to seize upon it, and to set up the Imperial Canopy therein. They came in haste to inform the holy Prelate that this Church was lost, and that they heard the miserable crys of those who were within, who implored his assistance, and that it would be convenient for him to go in person to oppose this Usurpation. But he replied, *That God would look after it; That as for him, he would not oppose force to force, nor turn the Temple of the Lord into a Field of Battle. He resolved notwithstanding to make use of spiritual Arms, and that Authority which his Ministry allowed him.*

In effect, being entred into his Cathedral, where an infinite number of People attended him, he solemnly excommunicated all the Soldiers that had the Insolence to seize upon the Churches. They, who had invested the Cathedral, having received notice of it, went in by couples, protesting that they entred not as Enemies, but as Brothers; and that they came to pray, and not to fight. *St. Ambrose* received them, and began his Sermon upon the Book of *Job*, which had been just read before.

In the mean time they, who had possessed themselves of the ancient Basilick, were scarce got in, but struck with an inward remorse, they deputed some of their Officers to the Emperor, to tell him, *That they had executed his Orders; That they attended him at the Church, in order to serve him there according to their Charge, if he communicated with the Catholicks; but that if he was of the Arian Party,*  
their



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their Consciences obliged them to go and find the Bishop Ambrose. This unexpected Blow alarmed the Palace; it was necessary to take down the Canopy, and to renounce the Enterprize.

LIX. The Emperor was still much more surprized, when the chief Officers of the Empire, and the principal Lords of the Court came in a Body most humbly to entreat him, in the Name of the whole Army, to go to Church in those days consecrated to the Passion of Jesus Christ, to the end that the People being a witness of his Piety, and the purity of his Faith, might be secured from all their fears. This deputation vexed him so much, that he answered to them angrily, *I see well that I am here but the shadow of an Emperor, and that ye are Men, who would deliver me up to your Bishop every time he shall give Orders for it. In the anger he was in, he sent upon the spot one of his Secretaries to St. Ambrose, to ask him, If he was resolved to resist obstinately the Orders of his Master? And if he pretended to usurp the Empire as a Tyrant, to the end that he might prepare War against him? The Saint answered to it wisely, That he had sustained the Rights of the Church, without deviating from the Respect which was owing to the Emperor; That he revered his Power, but that he envied it not; That he had nothing further to do, than to ask Maximus, If Ambrose was the Tyrant of the Emperor Valentinian? That Bishops were never known to be Tyrants, but it had often hapned that they had suffered the Persecutions of Tyrants. Calligonus the Eunuch, Great Chamberlain, had a mind to make a Droll of it; and, to please his Master, he sent to tell the Archbishop, That he should cease to be disobedient and rebellious, if not, he would come himself to behold him in his own house. The Archbishop made*  
answer

answer to him, *That he would receive the Blow without being amazed; That they should have both wherewithal to be content, the one to suffer what Bishops have been used to suffer for the sake of God, the other to do what Eunuchs ordinarily do for the pleasure of Men.*

Ambr. 387.

Ambr.

ep. 33. ad Marcell.

LX. At length the Persecution ceased, when it appeared most warm. *Valentinian began to be sensible, That his Authority was abused. The City in disorder, the Court displeased, the Army resolved to live in the Communion of the Archbishop, the visible Protection of Heaven upon the Catholicks, the dangerous Consequences which might proceed from the Passion of Justine, if he persisted in following her. All these Reasons obliged him to restore things to their first posture, and to recall the Soldiers who had invested the Churches. At this happy news of Peace, the whole City was transported with joy. The People left their Arms. Every one ran to Church, not to guard it again, but to render thanks therein. Some went to kiss the Altars they had defended, others sung Psalms and Spiritual Songs. They congratulated one another for their constancy, and casting themselves at the feet of their Archbishop, made for him a sort of Religious Triumph by their Acclamations, and their Prayers for his Prosperity. The Archbishop being affected with a Joy altogether spiritual and modest, referred to God all those Praises which were given to him; and by his lively, moving Exhortations, encouraged his People to lead a life conformable to the Faith which they had so courageously defended.*

The Empress alone remained obdurate, and employed the blackest and most execrable methods to destroy the Saint, demonstrating thereby how far extend the Passions of a powerful, incensed Woman;

An. 387. Woman, jealous of her Authority and Religion. But Fear put a stop to her Fury, and the necessity of things obliged her suddenly to have recourse to that very Prelate whom she had so cruelly persecuted.

Paulin. in  
vis. Ambr.

Theodor. l.  
5. 6. 14.

LXI. *Maximus*, who secretly prepared to pass into *Italy*, and sought but for a Pretence to justify his Irruption, wrote a Letter to *Valentinian*, to exhort him to persevere in the Catholick Religion, and to cease the Persecution of *St. Ambrose*, and of those who persisted at *Milan* in the Party of Truth. He made him even apprehend, that he would declare himself the Protector of this Archbishop. He dispatched Orders at the same time to his Ambassadors at *Constantinople*, to complain there of the Empress *Justine*, and to make it plausible, that he approached *Italy* in order to secure Religion.

LXII. *Theodosius*, who could not be pleased with the violent Proceedings of *Justine*, and saw well that *Maximus*, under this Pretence, went to seize upon the Dominions of *Valentinian*, had a mind to advance himself towards the *Alps*, to retain both one and t'other in their duty. But *Thrace* was threatened with a new deluge of *Barbarians*, inso-much that he durst not be at a distance from it. The *Grotungues*, a cruel and disturbing People, had left the heart of *Scythia*, with a design to enter by fair means, or otherwise, into the Lands of the Empire. They were in prodigious number, all armed, and well inured to War. *Alathens* and *Safrax*, Captains of their Nation, who had assisted at the defeat of *Valens*, had engaged them to this Enterprize, and their King *Odericus* conducted them



them to it, as to an easy Conquest. Passage was granted to them in some places; they took themselves that liberty in others. After having compelled all that made resistance, and collected all that would join with them, they arrived upon the Banks of the *Danube*, and demanded permission to pass the River. Whatsoever Protestations they made to live in Peace, the Example of the *Goths* was too fresh, and *Theodosius* had not the same facility as *Valens*.

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LXIII. When they saw themselves repulsed, they resolved to pass in spite of the *Romans*. They had made in a few days 3000 Barks, and attempted the Passage in divers places. *Promotus*, who commanded the Army of *Thrace*, and had extended his quarters along the River, stopt them everywhere with great loss on their side. But since he had Orders to spare the Troops, and besides feared the surprizes or efforts of this multitude, he joined dexterity to force. He found in his Army some Soldiers of an experienced fidelity, who understood the language of these *Barbarians*, and sent them into their Camp, in order to discover their designs, and to advertise him thereof. These feigning themselves to be Deserters and Molecontents, got to be presented to the King and chief Commanders, and offered to deliver to them the Army and General of the *Romans*: but they demanded such an excessive Recompence, that the *Barbarians* protested they had not wherewithal to requite so great a Service. After several Proposals made on both sides, they agreed at last upon a considerable Sum, part whereof was to be paid beforehand, and the other was secure for the day after the execution. They took the hour of em-

*Claud. de*  
*I. Consul.*  
*Honor.*

Zot. l. 4.



An. 387. barking; concerted the Signal which was to be given; marked out the place of passage, and prepared all things for the following night.

LXIV. It was resolved, that their best Troops should pass first to assault the *Romans*, whom they supposed to find asleep; that they should be supported by the rest of the Army, and that the Women and Children should come after without difficulty or danger in the Barks, which were intended for them. *Promotus* being informed of the design of the *Gortunnes*, and of the order they were to observe, provided all things on his side. He linked together, three and three, the lightest of his Boats, and extending them about the space of twenty Furlongs all along the River, he formed, as it were, a Chain, in order to obstruct the Descent upon the Shore. He designed the bigger Vessels to keep the River, and to fall impetuously upon the Enemies in the time of their passage. The Troops were disposed conformably to his Projections. The Moon made no appearance, and the night, to the satisfaction of both Parties, was very obscure. *Odetheus* embarked in silence with the choicest of his Men, and thought of nothing less than a discovery. But scarce were they arrived at the reach of the Tract, towards the Bank of the River, but they were charged by the *Roman* Troops, who guarded the Shore. Then they began to know they were betrayed, and remained in suspense, not daring to advance, and being unable to draw back.

As they were in this disorder, the *Romans*, who ascended the great Vessels, abandoning themselves to the current of the water, rowed with all the force of their Oars, came to take them in the  
 flank

flank, and shocked them so rudely, that overthrow-  
 ing one upon another with their Barks, they. An. 387.  
 drowned the most considerable part of them.  
 Those who remained went to strike against the  
 Chain of Boats, and were either knocked on the  
 head, or made Prisoners. After the defeat of the  
 most brave, it was no hard matter to compass the  
 end of the rest, whom the death of their King,  
 and their Companions had put into a Consterna-  
 tion, and were still in the disorder of the Engage-  
 ment. Altho' they surrendered at discretion, the  
 heated Soldier had put all to the Sword, but that  
*Promachus* made the slaughter cease, and even hin-  
 dred them from pillaging the Camp, to the end  
 that the Emperor, who was suddenly to come to  
 the Army, might himself be a Witness of this  
 Victory, and might know the consequence of it  
 by the quantity of Spoils, and by the number of  
 the dead and Prisoners.

**LXV.** Never was Naval Fight more fatal to  
 the Enemies of the Empire. The River was co-  
 vered with the wreck of so many broken Barks,  
 and overthrown Vessels. There was to be seen  
 heaps of *Barbarian* Bodies, which the Waves had  
 cast upon the Banks on both sides. Their very  
 Arms were of such a make, that notwithstanding Zor. l. 4.  
 they were weighty enough, they did not cease to re-  
 ascend upon the water. *Theodosius* came time enough  
 to have his share of this Spectacle. He presently  
 gave his Prisoners liberty, who, finding themselves  
 without a head, and in despair of reaching their  
 own Country again, gave themselves voluntarily  
 to him, and were afterwards serviceable to him in  
 his Wars. He ordered the Spoils to be divided  
 amongst the Soldiers; and after he had com-  
 mended the Prudence and Valor of *Promachus*, he

An. 387. entrusted him with the design he had to declare War against *Maximus*, and designed him for the command of the Army.

LXVI. Of all these *Grotungues*, who took part in his Troops, he picked out the most courageous, and best made; and to secure them more firmly to his service, he made a Promise to them of double Pay, presented each of them with a golden Collar, and assigned them quarters in *Scythia* the less, about the City of *Tomes*. As they had been accustomed to live without much Discipline, they over-run the Country licentiously, and were even incommodious to the City. *Gerontius*, who was the Governor, prohibited them entrance therein, and threatened them to come out with all his Garrison, and put them all to the Sword; but they despised his Threats. Then this daring and impatient Man assembled his Officers and most ancient Soldiers, and exposed to them the design he had to set upon these strangers; but they refused all to follow him, some by Prudence, others by Cowardice.

LXVII. When he saw himself to be thus deserted, he took his Armies, gets on Horseback, attended by some of his own Men, and went to defy this multitude. The *Barbarians* laughed at his temerity, and were contented to detach some of theirs against him. *Gerontius* run upon the first that advanced with Sword in hand. There arose betwixt them an obstinate Combat, and after having mutually returned several useless Blows, as they came to close, one of the *Romans* having run to disengage his Captain, discharged so terrible a stroke upon the *Grotongue*, that he took off his  
shoulder,

shoulder, and threw him from his Horse stark dead. The *Barbarians* admired at the force of this Man, and were in a consternation at the Blow he had made. *Gerontius*, after he had got rid of one, attacked the rest, and those of his Retinue fought with the same vigor as himself: But what Exploits soever they performed, they could not long resist a great number; and their Presumption had been punished, if some Officers of the Garrison, who were upon the walls of the City, and saw their Commander in danger, had not speedily repaired to his assistance.

LXVIII. These having stir'd up the rest by their Example, they no more regarded in the Enterprize of the Governor the violence and passion of a private Man, but the glory of the *Roman* Name, and the common interest of their Nation. Inhabitants and Soldiers went out together, and so courageously assaulted these *Barbarians*, that there remained but a very small number, who had taken Sanctuary in a Church.

*Gerontius* thought he had preserved *Scythia* that day, and made haste to give the Emperor advice of the Action he had performed, as if he had obtained a Victory, for which he was to expect Commendations and Rewards; but *Theodosius* was extremely displeased thereat. Besides the loss he had sustained of so many brave Soldiers, whom he had won by his Presents and Civilities, he was still afraid lest the rest of the *Barbarians* who were in his Pay, should be discouraged from the service of the Empire, or should revenge the death of their Companions, when they found an opportunity of doing it.



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LXIX. As he was upon the Point to undertake a considerable War, and that nothing was so dangerous as to weaken the Army of the Empire, and to alienate the minds of the Allies, *Gerontius* was sent for to Court, in order to give an account of his Conduct. He alledged, *That the Grotungues had lived disorderly in Scythia; That after having ruined the Country, they had a mind to render themselves Masters of the City of Tomes; That he had often menac'd them; and at last had been constrained to use them as Enemies and Rebels. Notwithstanding he was accused of not only assaulting without order, Troops, over which he had no Authority, but also of having reaped the advantage of their Spoils, and particularly the Gifts which the Emperor had made them.*

Upon this Accusation *Theodosius* having order'd his confinement, commanded a severe examination of this Affair; and altho' in the end *Gerontius* justified himself, and he was glad not to lose a Man of courage, capable of the first employment of War, yet he did not cease to retain him in Prison, and to threaten him with death, as well to teach other Governors moderation, as to satisfy a barbarous Nation, who had complained of the violence of this Man.

LXX. For all *Theodosius* thought to have sheltered the Empire from the Insults of *Maximus*, yet to take away that Pretence of Religion which he made use of, he dispatched Couriers to him, to assure him, *That he was no less offended than himself at Valentinian's persecution of the Archbishop of Milan, and all the Catholics; That he would employ his Credit with the young Emperor, to confirm him*

in the Faith of his Ancestors, and that he hoped to have success therein. He wrote likewise to the Empress *Justine* to remonstrate to her, That she should be cautious of the danger to which she exposed the Dominions of her Son, if she continued to disturb the Peace of the Church; That altho' the designs of *Maximus* were unjust, the motive appeared good; and that it would be a difficult matter to maintain against him a War, which the People would believe to be undertaken for the defence of Religion. These Remonstrances would undoubtedly have produced all the effect which *Theodosius* expected from them; but they came too late, and the Affair had already changed its Face.

LXXI. It was heard at the same time, that *Maximus* made great preparations of War, and that he was upon the point of passing the Alps. *Justine*, and the Emperor her Son cast their eyes upon *St. Ambrose*, and pray'd him to forget what was past, and to undertake a second Embassy towards *Maximus*. The happy success of the former, made them hope well from this. The design was to discover the intentions of this Prince, to divert him from his Enterprize, to maintain the Truce, and to make, if it was necessary, an overture of some new Treaty of Peace, in order to amuse him, and to afford *Valentinian* an opportunity of providing for his defence, and *Theodosius* to assist him. The pretence of the Embassy was, to require the Body of *Gratian*, in order to render him the last Honors.

The Archbishop preferring the publick Interest, and the Service of the Emperor before his own Repose, without reflecting upon the Injuries which had been done to him, or those he might receive from

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D. Ambr.  
ep. 27.

from *Maximus*, who was dissatisfied with him, arrived in a few days at *Treves*. The day after his coming, he repaired to the Palace to demand Audience. An Eunuch, *Gaul* by Nation, great Chamberlain of the Emperor, was sent to ask him if he had his Credential Letters, and to tell him, *That he could not be heard but in full Council*. He replied, *That it was not the custom to use a Bishop after that manner; That he had very particular things to tell the Prince, and that he demanded a private Audience*. The Eunuch re-entred, and whether he did speak again to his Master, or was already acquainted with his intentions, he returned to him with the same Answer as before.

LXXII. The Archbishop was obliged to retire. He came again the next day, and was introduced into the Council. As soon as he was entred, *Maximus* rising from his Throne, bent his body towards him as it were to kiss him. The Saint stopt; and when they made signs to him on all sides to advance, and the Emperor himself invited him, he answered to him, *That he did not believe: he would kiss a Man to whom he had denied a private Audience, and a Seat conformable to the Rank which he held in the Church, and to the Dignity of the Prince who sent him*. *Maximus* threw himself upon Complaints, and reproached him with his former Embassy, and those fine words which had seduced him from passing at that time into *Italy*. But the holy Prelate replied to him generously, *That he had taken care of the Interests of a Pupil Prince; That he was proud of it, as of an Action worthy of a Bishop; but that he had not blocked up the Alps from any one; That he had opposed neither Armies, Trenches, Rocks, nor yet false Assurances*. After having justified his

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own conduct, he justified that of *Valentinian*, who had disbanded the *Huns* and *Alains*, for fear of giving him suspicion, who had always received his Ambassadors with honor, and had sent back his Brother to him, whom he might have put to death by way of Reprizals. In a word, he exposed to him his Commission, and demanded of him from his Master the confirmation of the passed Treaties, and the Body of the Emperor *Gratian*, whose murder he had without doubt commanded, since he refused him burial. *Maximus* being pressed with the remorse of his Conscience, and the reasons of the Archbishop, had nothing to answer him, but that he was willing to treat with *Valentinian*, and referred him to another Audience. Some days after having learnt that he refused to communicate with him, and with the Prelats of his Court, who were of the Schism of *Atacus*, he made use of this pretence to command him to depart his Dominions.

LX XIII. *St. Ambrose* immediately dispatched a Courier to *Valentinian*, to give him an account of the ill success of his Embassy, and to advise him not to confide in the golden words of the Tyrant, who under appearances of Peace, concealed a formed design of making War. *Valentinian*, who had as yet no manner of experience, judged of this Embassy by the event, and sent *Domitius*, one of his chief Ministers, to renew the Negotiation, and to accommodate, by his Ingenuity, what he thought the Archbishop had spoiled by his indiscreet zeal, or small capacity. *Maximus* received this new Ambassador with all possible civility, accepted all his Proposals, and dexterously engaged him to conduct some of his Troops to *Valentinian*,



to assist him against the *Barbarians* that disturbed  
 An. 387. *Pannonia*. This Minister, glorious of the Honors  
 which he had receiv'd, and the service he thought  
 to have rendred, took the Road of the *Alps*, leav-  
 ing, as it were in triumph, the half of an ad-  
 versary Army, under the name of auxiliary  
 Troops.

LXXIV. *Maximus* followed him so close, that  
 he entred into *Italy* almost as soon as he with his  
 whole Army, and marched directly to *Aquileia*,  
 where he thought to surprize *Valentinian*. The  
 Consternation was so great, that no one put him-  
 self into a condition to resist him. *Valentinian*,  
 who took him for his Ally, observing him to come  
 as an Enemy, considered nothing but his safety.  
 He retired immediately towards the *Adriatick* Sea,  
 where he embarked with the Empress his Mother,  
 and sailed towards *Thessalonica*, in order to go and  
 implore the assistance of *Theodosius*. *Maximus*,  
 displeased that he had missed of the Emperor's per-  
 son, disperfed himself like a furious Torrent,  
 ruining *Placentia*, *Modena*, *Rhegio*, and *Bologna*, to all  
 intents and purposes, and laying waste all the Ci-  
 ties he found in his passage upon the right and left.  
 There was no Cruelty, Pillage, Violence, Infamy,  
 or Sacriledge, but what was exercised by his  
 Troops. Part of the Citizens were put to the  
 Sword: those, whom that had spared, languished  
 in a miserable Captivity. There was none but  
*Milan*, that was preserved from these publick mi-  
 series; and whatsoever hatred was had for the  
 Archbishop of this City, they suffered him to  
 preach in peace Repentance to his People, so  
 venerable is Holiness even to Tyrants.

Pacat. in  
 Panegyrr.  
 Theod.

LXXV. Then

LXXV. Then *Maximus* seeing that all things submitted to his Fortune, stop'd, and commanded the Officers of his Army to make the Troops live in order, to the end that he might win the affection of those People, whose weakness he had a sense of. The first thing he did, was to send Ambassadors to *Constantinople*, to prevent *Theodosius*, and to remonstrate to him, That he was not enter'd into Italy with a design to usurp the Empire, but to confirm the Catholick Religion therein, which was going fairly to be ruined. He wrote the same thing to Pope *Siricius*, and sent him word, That his desire was absolutely to preserve the purity of Faith, without suffering any single Heresy. To gain the Gentiles, he restored the Sacrifices, which *Gratian* had abolished, and gave them permission to set up again the Altar of Victory in the Capitol. He likewise kept fair with the Jews, by suffering the rebuilding of their Synagogues at *Rome*. Thus this politick Usurper fitted his Conscience to his designs and interests.

Ambr. ep.  
29.

LXXVI. In the mean time *Valentinian*, after having incurred several dangers upon the Sea, arriv'd upon the Eastern Coasts: from thence he sent one of his Domesticks to *Theodosius*, to advise him of his flight, and the irruption of *Maximus*, and to entreat him to undertake the protection of a wandering Prince, who had the honour to be his Colleague, his Friend, and his Ally. *Theodosius* was very sensibly touch'd at the unhappy state to which this young Prince was reduced, and immediately gave all necessary Orders for War. After which he set out with part of his Court, and advanced as far as *Thessalonica*, where he found this fugitive Emperor, and the Princess *Galla*, whom  
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Aug. l. 5.  
de civ. Dei.  
c. 26.Suidas  
verbo Va-  
lentinianus.

the Empress *Justine* had brought along with her. He treated this afflicted Family with all the civility and tenderness which he owed to the house of the great *Valentinian*.

After he had comforted them, he spoke to them as a Father, and a most Christian Emperor, and told this young Prince, That to remedy his misfortune, it was necessary for him to take away the Cause; That the War he had declared to *Jesus Christ*, had occasioned that of *Maximus*; That if he had not God on his side, all the Forces of the Empire would be of no other service, than to render his loss the more observable; That he ought to confide more in the justice of his Cause, than in the number and valor of his Soldiers; That Victory had always followed the great *Valentinian* his Father, because he had confessed the Faith, and God protected him; That his Uncle *Valens* on the other side, after he had supported an Error, persecuted the Bishops, and massacred the Saints, had been defeated, and burnt rather through his Impiety, than his Enemies Force or Arms; That he should make his peace with God, and resume the Faith he had deserted, if he had a mind that the Succors, which were prepared for him, should have all the success which might be expected from them.

LXXVII. This Remonstrance affected the mind of this young Emperor, whom his Misfortunes had already made to return to himself, and fixed him inviolably to the belief of the Catholick Church. *Justine*, to whom this Admonition was addressed more than to her Son, dissembled her displeasure, and making an appearance of renouncing her Heresy, encouraged *Theodosius* to War by her Tears and Prayers. This Emperor was determined upon it; and to give her an assured pledge of his protection, he married a little while after, the Princess *Galla*, her daughter

Zoz. l. 4.

As

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As he had resolved to take the Field at the beginning of the Spring with a powerful Army, he was obliged to impose a new Tribute to supply the charges of the War, whether it was that the People found it excessive, or that the Officers, who had a Commission to levy it, exacted it with too much Rigor; several Cities murmured at it, but the Inhabitants of *Antioch* passed from murmuring to Sedition. They despised the Orders which they had received from the Emperor; and pulling down his Statues, with those of the Empress *Flaccilla*, his first Wife, they drag'd them through all the streets of the City. An Action so unworthy was accompany'd with the most bitter and outrageous words that Fury could inspire them with. Some Historians report, that the night before was seen a horrible *Spectre*, which rising above the City, and clashing the Air with a most dreadful noise, seemed to excite their minds to Sedition.

Soz. l. 4.  
Theodoret.  
l. 5. c. 19.

Sozom l. 7.  
c. 24.

As soon as the Emperor understood this News, his displeasure was so much the greater, as it was just. Besides, that he was of a hasty and sensible nature, the ingratitude of this People whom he had always favoured, and the dangerous effects which this example might produce in the beginning of a War, incensed him still more. But that which had the most lively influence upon him, was the injury which had been done to the memory of the Empress *Flaccilla*, who had been dead about two years since in the reputation of Sanctity, and whose name he held in singular veneration.

Aurel. viii.  
in Theod.

Chrysoft.  
hom. 20. ad  
Pop. Anti-  
och.

LXXIX. To punish so great an Affront, he resolved immediately to confiscate all the Goods of the Citizens of *Antioch*; to burn down all its Hou-



An. 387. Houses, with all those that inhabited them, to demolish it to the very Foundations; to transport  
Zer. 1. 4. elsewhere every stone of the place, and afterwards  
Chrysof. to plow up the ground whereon it stood, to the  
Rom. 17. ad end that there might remain no sign of this Royal  
Pop. Anti- City, which was the Capitol of the whole East.  
sch. Altho' it was convenient to chastise the insolence of this People, yet there was excess in the anger of the Prince, who involved in the same condemnation the innocent and the guilty. So he came not to that extremity; he contented himself to send to *Antioch* two Commissioners, *Elebeus* General of his Armies, and *Cesarinus Præfectus Prætorio*, in order to the discovering of the Authors and Accomplices of the Sedition, and to the making of an exemplary punishment thereof.

Chrysof. in LXXX. In the mean time this City was in an  
humil. ad extreme affliction; Remorse, Fear and Despair  
Pop. Anti- had succeeded Fury. Several of its Inhabitants,  
sch. affrighted at their Crime, and the threatnings of the Emperor, forsook their Houses, which they thought designed for pillage. They who remained, had always the apprehension of death before their eyes, and expected nothing but the hour of their punishment. They had no other refuge than the Church, no other consolation than that which they received from the eloquent exhortations of St. *Chrysofom*, nor other hopes than what *Flavian* their Archbishop afforded them, who had undertaken to go and find the Emperor, and to intercede for them.

The Commissioners found things in this posture at their arrival. They forbid immediately all the Citizens the Theater, and Circus, and prohibited them the publick Baths. They deprived the City

of the title of Metropolis of *Syria*, and of the East, and conferred it upon *Laodicea*; beginning thus to chastise a People so addicted to shews, and so jealous of their glory, by the retrenchment of their Pleasures and Privileges. Which done, they made an exact enquiry after the Mutineers, and filled the Prisons with the guilty, and even those who were but suspected. They confiscated the goods of the greatest part of those Persons of Quality, who had commisered or been accessory to the crime. Every one was in fear for his Neighbors, or for himself, and the very Judges could not see without pity so great a desolation. Notwithstanding they executed the orders of the Prince, and kept armed Soldiers about the Palace and the Prisons, lest their despair should again excite a new Sedition.

LXXXI. It was then the Solitaries, who lived in the Neighborhood of *Antioch*, descended from their Mountains in order to afford some comfort to this afflicted City. They suggested to some a disengagement from the world, and the contempt of death; they assured others of the protection of God, and the mercy of the Prince: they protested to all, that they were come to obtain their pardon, or to suffer with them.

After they had remained whole days at the entrance of the Palace, to solicit the Judges, they lay down all night at the Prison gates, ready to give up their Lives and Liberties for the safety of their Brethren. Sometimes they embraced the knees of the Magistrates, sometimes they spoke to them with authority from God.

One amongst them, by name *Macedonius*, a plain man, and without any experience of the

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Chrysost.  
hom. 17. ad  
pop. Ant.  
ioch.Chrysost.  
hom. 13. ad  
pop. Ant.Id. hom. 17.  
ad pop. Ant.  
Theod. l. 5.  
c. 19.

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world, but of eminent piety, meeting two of the Judges in the midst of the City, commanded them to alight from Horseback. These Officers, who saw nothing in his Habit, or Person, that might afford him any authority, grew angry immediately against him: but when they had learnt what was the Sanctity of this Solitary man, they quitted their Horses, embraced him, and asked him pardon. Then this old man, filled with a divine Wisdom, raising his voice, said to them, Go, my Friends, and make this remonstrance to the Emperor from me. You are an Emperor, but still you are a man. You command Men, that are the Images of God. Fear the Anger of the Creator, if you destroy the creature. You are so offended at the overthrowing of your Images, shall God be less when you have thrown down his? Yours are insensible, his are alive and rational. Your Statues of Brass are already mended and repaired; but when you shall destroy men, how will you be able to redress your fault? Will you revive them, when they are once dead? These words, enlivened with Zeal and Charity, made an impression upon the minds of these Officers, and the Emperor himself was affected at them, when they were reported to him: So that instead of the threatnings which he had made to the Inhabitants of Antioch, he justified himself; and discovering the cause of his anger, If I had been wanting, said he, they ought not to have carried their displeasure to a Princess, whose virtue deserves nothing but commendations. They, who should have felt themselves offended, ought to have directed all their anger against me.

The other Solitaries were not less courageous. They went to find the Magistrates, and begg'd of them to pronounce a favorable judgment, and to absolve the Criminals. As they could receive no other



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other answer, than that they were not Masters of the affair; that it was dangerous to leave a Crime of State unpunished, and that they pursued in their judgments the rules of Duty, and Justice: they cried out, *We have a Prince who loves God, who is faithful, and who lives in Piety. Don't imbrue your Sword in blood. As great as the insolence of this City has been, it doth not exceed the mercy of the Emperor.* In a word, they entered the Palace, just as they were going to pronounce the sentence of Condemnation against those who had been convicted of the Crime. They conjured the Judges to grant them some few days of delay, and to expect new orders from the Court. They offered themselves to go and find the Prince, and to appease him by their Tears and Prayers, and were so prevalent as to obtain what they demanded.

The Commissioners the Emperor had sent, being touched with the generous sentiments of these Solitaries, prayed them to give their remonstrances in writing, and promised to carry them themselves to their Master; which they performed a few days after. The affair being in this posture, these admirable men immediately returned to their Caves and Cells, and the same Charity which induced them to leave them, shut them up close again.

LXXXII. About this time *Flavian*, Archbishop of this afflicted City, who had parted from thence towards the beginning of *Lent*, and who had considered neither the rigor of the Season, the inconveniencies of the Journey, nor his own Old-age; arrived at *Constantinople*. He went to the Palace, where the Prince was, and stopt at a pretty distance from him, as if retained by Fear,

R 2

Shame,

*Chrysost.  
Hom. 20. ad  
Pop. Antioch.*



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Shame, and Trouble. He remained there without speaking, and kept his eyes fixed upon the ground as full of Sorrow and Confusion, as if he had been culpable, and begg'd a pardon for himself.

Socr. om. l. 7.  
Hist. Eccles.  
c. 13.

Some also add, that he made the Children of the Emperors Music sing the doleful Psalms, which the Church of *Antioch* made use of in her public Prayers to express her affliction; and that these sad and languishing Airs softened the Soul of the Prince, and moved him so effectually to compassion, that he steeped the Cup he had in his hands with his own tears. But besides the little probability of this circumstance, *St. Chrysostom*, who has written all the particulars of this History, would not have failed to have been informed of it, and to have inserted it in his Relation.

Chrys. hom.  
20. ad pop.  
Antioch.

Be it as it will, this Archbishop insensibly prepared the mind of *Theodosius*, and endeavored to affect him by his Sighs and Tears before he undertook to persuade him by his reasons. The Emperor drew near to him, and said to him with a great deal of moderation, *That he had great reasons of complaint against the Citizens of Antioch; That he had preferred their City before all the rest of his Empire; That after the favors and kindness he had conferred upon them, he could not expect so rude a treatment; That he was not sensible, he had done them an Injustice; if he had been unhappy enough to have committed one, they might have fallen out with himself, rather than with dead Persons, who had not been wanting in their respect.* He stopt at these words, and the Archbishop, after he had wiped away his tears, at last broke silence.

LXXXIII. He began his discourse by a sincere acknowledgment of the crime, which those of *Antioch* had committed, confessing that there was no punishment sufficient to atone it. After having aggravated their ingratitude, by comparing it with the extream goodness of the Emperor, he represented to him that the greater the injury was, the more glorious would be the favor, which he should afford those Criminals. He proposed to him the example of *Constantine*, who being pressed by his Courtiers to revenge himself upon some factious men, who had disfigured one of his Statues by force of Stones, did nothing but pass his hand over his face, and answered to them smiling, that he did not feel himself hurt. He set before his eyes his own Clemency, and made him remember one of his Laws, by which, after he had given orders for the opening of Prisons, and pardoning Offenders in the time of the Solemnity of *Easter*, he adds this remarkable expression: *Would to God I could even revive the dead too.*

He made appear to him, that in this occasion there was not only concerned the Preservation of *Antioch*, but even the Honor of the Christian Religion. The Jews, said he, the Pagans, the Barbarians themselves, amongst whom the noise of this accident is dispersed, have all their eyes upon you, and expect the sentence you are going to pronounce. If you pardon the culpable, they will glorify the Christian's God, in praising you, and will say one to another, That this Religion is a powerful one; which gives a Bridle to the wrath of Emperors, and retains Sovereigns in a Moderation of mind, which we our selves do not enjoy; and the God of the Christians is great, since he exalts man above nature, and makes them overcome the violence of their Passions.

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After this reflection, to take from the mind of the Prince the politic considerations of an ill example, if he left so great a crime unpunished, he represented to him, that he did not pardon thro' softness of temper, or incapacity to revenge himself, but through Goodness and Religion; and that the City of *Antioch* was more chastised by its terrors and remorse, than if it had been destroyed by sword or fire. In a word, he protested to him that he would return no more to *Antioch*, till it had regained the favor of the Emperor, and concluded his discourse in mixing Respect and Entreaties with the Threatnings of the Judgment of God.

LXXXIV. *Theodosius* was unable to resist the force of this discourse. He had much ado to retain his tears, and dissembling his emotion as much as possibly he could, he said these few words to the Patriarch: 'If Jesus Christ notwithstanding his God-head has been willing to pardon those men that crucified him, ought I to make a scruple of pardoning my Subjects, that have offended me, that am but a Mortal man as well as they, and Servant of the same master?' Then *Flavian* prostrated himself, and wished him all the prosperity that he deserved by the action he had done; and when this Prelate shewed some desire to pass the Feast of Easter at *Constantinople*, Go my Father, said *Theodosius*, embracing him, and defer not a moment the consolation which your People will receive by your return, and by the assurances you will give them of the Pardon, which I grant. I know that they continue still in grief, and fear. Go, and carry to them for the Feast of Easter the disannulling of their crime. Beseech God to send a blessing upon my Arms, and be assured that after this war,

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war, *I will go my self and comfort the City of Antioch.* After that he dismissed this holy Old man, and even sent Couriers to him, after he had passed the Sea, to exhort him anew to make all imaginable haste.

An. 388.

LXXXV. One may observe through the whole Relation that I have made, the malice of the Historian *Zozimus*, who endeavors to excuse the violence of the *Antiochians*, in rejecting the fault of their Rebellion upon the severity of the Government. He says nothing of the Journey of *Flavian*, attributing all the success of this Negotiation to the Sophister *Libanius* against the belief of History, and the testimony of contemporary Authors, and particularly *St. Chrysostom*, who publicly reproached Philosophers with excess of weakness in this occasion. From whence one may conjecture, that those two discourses, which we find still amongst the works of this Caviller upon the subject of Statues, were either composed after his death, or else if he did them himself, it was nothing but an after-blow by way of Declamation.

Zoz. l. 4:

Chrys. hom. 17. ad pop. Antioch.

Bar. Ann. Eocl. l. 4.

The affair of *Antioch* being thus happily concluded, the return of its Archbishop was a kind of a triumph. The public place was strowed with flowers; illuminations were seen every where; they covered all the way he was to pass with odoriferous Herbs; and every one touched with the Emperor's mercy, made wishes and prayers for him, and for prosperity to his Arms.

LXXXVI. About this time *Theodosius*, at the solicitation of one of his Kinsmen, was urgent with the Widow *Olympias* to marry. She was



the Daughter of Count Selenus, and Grand-  
 daughter of Ablavius, High Steward of the Empire  
 under Constantine. She had been married to a  
 young Lord named Nebrides. Several Bishops  
 had been assisting at her Wedding, and St. Gregory of Nazianzum, who upon some occasion could  
 not be there, had sent her some Verses in form  
 of an Epithalamium. She was a Widow at the  
 end of twenty months, and pretended to nothing  
 more than to apply herself to God alone. Elpidius,  
 a Spaniard by Nation, and Cousin to the Emperor,  
 had an extream desire to marry her; for besides  
 her illustrious Birth, she likewise possessed  
 extraordinary Riches. For all he had pursued all  
 kind of methods to make himself beloved, he  
 could not succeed in his undertaking. He had  
 recourse to the Emperor, and begg'd the assistance  
 of his credit with Olympias. Theodosius being very  
 sensible to all that related to his Family, and  
 moreover being perswaded that his Protection and  
 the Honor of his Alliance, would affect this young  
 Widow, propos'd this Marriage to her; but he  
 could not prevail. She answered with a great deal  
 of modesty and generosity all together: That she  
 would always receive with a very profound respect what-  
 soever the Emperor would do her the honor to propose to  
 her; but she begg'd of him to permit her to live without  
 engagement: That if Heaven had been pleas'd with her  
 marriage state, it would not have deprived her of her  
 Husband; and that since God had broken her Bonds,  
 she was resolv'd to give herself to no one but him, and to  
 live only in order to please him, and to serve him.

Greg. Naz.  
 Ep. 57.

Pallad. in  
 Dial. de vi-  
 ta Chrysoft.

Pallad. ib.

LXXXVII. Theodosius did not think it a reason-  
 able thing to reduce her by Authority to accept of  
 the party, which he propos'd to her. But as it is  
 the

the misfortune of Sovereigns to be subject not only to their own Passions, but also to those of other men, he suffered himself to be prepossessed against her. The Relations, which had been won, complained that becoming Mistress of her Estate, before the Age required by the Laws, she had scattered it away in indiscreet Alms and Presents by the advice of some interested Ecclesiastics, who governed her. Upon this complaint, the Emperor ordained that the Governor of *Constantinople* should have the care and administration of the Possessions of *Olympias*, till she had attained the age of Thirty years. *Elpidius* made this order to be executed with extream rigor. They took away from this vertuous Lady the entire disposition of her Revenues. She was not permitted even the liberty of having any communication with the Bishops, nor to enter in the Church, to the end that feeling all the inconveniencies of Poverty and Slavery, and enjoying no sort of comfort, she might be obliged to consent to the Marriage, which she had refused. But she could not be moved by a usage so unjust and violent. She suffered it not only with patience, but even with joy; and after having rendred thanks to God for it, she wrote to the Emperor in these terms. *You have acted, Sir, in relation to your most humble Servant, not only as an Emperor, but also as a Bishop; since you have freed me from the care of my temporal concerns, and the fear of not making a sufficiently good use thereof. Behold me discharged of a great burden. The favor would be entire, if you would order them to be distributed to the poor, and to the Church. It is a long time since I was afraid, lest Vanity should make me lose the Fruits of my Alms, and the Perplexity of temporal Riches should make me negligent of spiritual ones.*

An. 388.

Pallad. ib.

LXXXVIII. She

An. 388.

LXXXVIII. She remained in this condition, till the war against *Maximus* was happily concluded. Then *Theodosius* perceiving that he had been surprised, and pitying the misfortunes she had so resolutely undergone, restored her to her possessions, and left her to her freedom. She exercised afterwards the employment of Deaconess in the Church of *Constantinople*, affording great examples of Modesty, discretion, piety, and a perfect renunciation of all the cares and pleasures of this World.

*Themist.  
Orat. 6.*

LXXXIX. As soon as the Spring was come, *Theodosius* who still kept in suspense the Ambassadors of *Maximus*, declared that he was going to make war against him, and departed from *Constantinople*, where he left his Son *Arcadius* under the conduct of *Tatian*, a wise, faithful, and intelligent man, whom he had expressly sent for from *Aquileia* to make him *Præfectus Prætorio*; and of *Themestius* the Philosopher, whom he gave him for his Tutor. His Ambassadors had by his order renewed the Treaties of Peace with all the Neighbouring Princes of the Empire. He took into his pay the best Soldiers amongst the *Goths*, *Huns*, *Scythians*, and *Alains*, as well to reinforce his Army, as to weaken the *Barbarians*, who might be suspected to him. *Arbogastes* had brought him a considerable body of *French* and *Saxons*. Generals of great Reputation and Experience who were to command under him, and make discipline to be observed amongst so many different Troops. In a word, he had provided all things that might make succeed an enterprise so important to his own glory, and to the safety of the Empire.

But



But his chief care had been to procure the blessings of God upon his Army, and to dispose himself for victory by his Piety. He gave orders for solemn devotions, and sent to entreat the most famous Solitaries of *Egypt* to recommend to God in their Prayers the success of this war, and to lift up their hands to heaven, whilst he fought. Above all he consulted the holy Abbot *John*, who gave him assurances of the Victory he was to obtain. This admirable man, who was as it were the Oracle of his Age, foretold him the principal events of his Reign, his Wars, his Victories, the very Irruptions of the *Barbarians*, which he observed to the least circumstances.

An. 382.

August. de  
civ. Dei. l.  
5. c. 26.Evagr. vit.  
3. P. c. 1.

XC. It was not sufficient in the Emperors opinion to implore the assistance of Heaven by Entreaties and Prayers, he endeavored it also by his Actions. For before he went out of *Thessalonica*, he renewed his ancient Edicts, and ordained new ones against the Hereticks, forbidding them to hold Assemblies, to make Ordinations, to give, or take the name of Bishops; enjoying the Magistrates to hinder these profane Religions, which seemed to have conspired against the true one, from celebrating their sacrilegious mysteries in public or in private. And because the *Arians* had supposed, or interpreted some of his former Edicts in their favor, he declared by an express Law, that all they could expound to their advantage should be held false, and contrary to his intention. Thus he endeavoured to engage God to protect him, by undertaking with so much Zeal the protection of his Church, and went to joyn his Troops encouraged with a holy confidence.

Leg. 14.  
15, & 16.  
de Hæres.  
Cod. Theod.



An. 338.

XCI. *Maximus* on his side observing that no positive answer was given to his Ambassador, had put himself into a condition not only to defend himself, but to attack if it was necessary. To assure himself of the *Gauls* in his absence, he had left there his Son *Victor* under the conduct of *Narinius* and *Quentin* his Generals. Part of the *German* People, whom he had reduced to pay him great contributions, was run to his assistance, and he had reason to be satisfied with the number and valor of his Soldiers. He divided his Forces immediately into three bodies. He sent Count *Andragatius* with orders to fortify the *Julian Alps*, and to guard all the narrow Passes. He commanded his Brother *Marcellin* to seize upon all the Avenues of the *Drave*, with a party of the auxiliary Troops, and himself with the *Roman* Legions advanced towards *Pannonia*, and stopt upon the *Save*. After he had thus made himself Master of the Mountains and Rivers, he thought he had shut up all the passages to *Italy*, and posted himself in such a manner, that he could in a little time joyn his Brother, whenever he should judge it convenient.

XCII. *Theodosius* was scarce got out of *Constantinople*, but he was advised that some Treason was contriving in his Army, where *Maximus* had already won some Officers, and that it was necessary to put a sudden stop to an Enemy, that was more accustomed to bribery, than fighting. This notice was given him by men that appeared to be very well informed, and the former conduct of *Maximus* made it but too probable. The Emperor then advanced in haste towards his Army, and made a very strict enquiry after the Agents of *Maximus*.

## THEODOSIUS the Great.

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*Maximus*, and those who had held any correspondence with them.

An. 388.

The noise was soon dispersed, that there was a treason which would suddenly be discovered, and the Traytors judged well that they should not escape the chastisement which they had deserved, if so be they did not hastily retire. They secretly concerted the time and place of their flight, and leaving the Camp in little Troops, they join'd again at night, and fled towards the Woods and Marshes of *Macedonia*, with a design to hide themselves. *Theodosius* being advertised in the morning that a Battalion of *Barbarians* had deserted, was glad to be rid of those disloyal Soldiers; but fearing lest they should draw after them the Troops of their Country, and disturb in his absence the repose of this Province, he detached some Squadrons, who pursued them, killed the greatest part of them before they had gained the Marshes, and constrained the rest to betake themselves to the Woods and Mountains.

Zoz. *ibid.*

XCI. *Theodosius* being delivered from this inquiet, made *Valentinian* embark with the Empress *Justine*, and made them to be conducted to *Rome* in safety, whether it was that *Italy* had required them again, or that he imagined their presence would encourage those People, who were still affected to them, and could not dispense with the Tyranny of *Maximus*. After that he made very severe Regulations concerning the Discipline of his Troops, and obliged all his Officers to see them performed, to the end, that People might judge of the justice of his Cause, by the moderation of his Soldiers; and see the difference there was between an Emperors Army, and that of a Tyrant.

Zoz. *ibid.*

These

An. 388.

Pacat. in  
Panegy.

These Orders were so exactly observed, that there was no manner of confusion or tumult amongst so many Nations that were accustomed to live without rule, and without constraint. Neither City nor Country was inconvenienc'd by their passage, and there being a want of Provisions for some days, there was not one Soldier but chose rather to endure hunger with patience, than commit any disorder that might be displeasing to the Emperor.

Philostorg.  
Oras. l. 7.

XCIV. All things being thus regulated, *Theodosius* marched by great Journies, and thought that the good success of this Expedition partly depended upon the diligence of his march. *Theodosius* commanded the Cavalry, *Timasius* was at the head of the Legions, *Arbogastes* and *Ricomar* conducted the greatest part of the auxiliary *Barbarians*, and the Emperor had an eye over all. He divided his Army, like *Maximus*, into three Bodies, to conceal from him the course he was to take, and especially to cause the less disturbance in the Countries he passed through, and to keep his Men more easily in order.

\* *Sciffeg.*

As he advanced in this posture towards *Pannonia*, he had advice that *Maximus* made a halt, and that he had encamped his Army about \* *Siscia*. It was a City that was considerable neither for its Greatness, nor its Fortifications, but for its advantageous Situation. It was upon the Banks of the *Save*, which dividing it self in two Branches, forms an Isle over against this place, serves as a double Bulwark to it, and renders it almost inaccessible. The Tyrant *Magnentius* had formerly possessed himself thereof, as of a very important Post, in the War he made against the Emperor *Constantius*.

*Theodosius*



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*Theodosius* got all his Troops together on a sudden, and made so much haste, that he was encamped between the *Drave* and the *Savo*, before the Enemies could hinder him, and cut off the Communication of their two Armies. Then judging that *Maximus* would hold himself close, and that it would be a hard matter to draw him to a general Fight, resolved to pass the *Savo* at what price soever, and to go and force him in his Post. He proposed his design to his Generals, who immediately found the execution hazardous. Notwithstanding the presence of the Emperor, who encouraged his Troops, the Valor and Prudence of the Officers, the Chearfulness and Courage of the Soldiers, who thought the Enemy durst not hold the Field, made them believe that nothing was impossible to them.

The Emperor made good use of the heat and confidence which he observed in his Troops, and marching at their head with an extraordinary diligence, he appeared hard by *Siscia*, and was immediately as ready to pass the River, as the Enemies to defend it. He cast a terror into their whole Camp, and at the same time made the passage of the River to be attempted in several places. *Maximus*, who by a strange blindness had believ'd *Theodosius* to have been still at a good distance, was presently surprized. He endeavoured to encourage his Legions, made them advance according to occasions, and supposed that if they could sustain these first efforts, it would be easy for him afterwards to keep them in good heart. In the mean time *Theodosius*, who was advanced upon the Bank to observe the posture of the Enemies, knowing by their motions, and their confusion, that they were disordered, would most willingly have gone to charge



An. 388

charge them; without giving them leisure to recover themselves; but the *Save* was very deep, and *Maximus* sent new Troops continually to reinforce those who were already upon the Shoar. Then seeing the fatal moment that might terminate this War, and fearing to let slip an occasion of conquering, which perhaps Fortune would not offer any more, he made Fords to be searcht for, and prepared Bridges with an incredible diligence.

*Pacat. in  
Panegy.*

XCV. As he was in this inquietude, *Arbogastes* brought to him some Officers of his Nation, who offered to pass the River. The Emperor commended their resolution, made them hope for great rewards, and assured them that he would be a Witness of their Valor, and would support them himself with all the bravest Men of his Army. These Officers went to join their Squadrons, whom they encouraged more by their example, than their words. *Arbogastes* put himself at the head of them, and throwing themselves all together in the River, all dusty and fatigued as they were with a long march, they attempted a great many Tracts, and passed on Horseback by swimming in the sight of the Emperor, who supported them in person.

The Enemies amazed at so bold a resolution, retired in disorder, and gave the Alarm to all the rest of the Army. Whilst *Arbogastes*, after he had gained the shoar, cut all in pieces that he met, the other Troops which *Theodosius* sent over immediately, fell upon the Enemies on another side, and made a terrible slaughter. Many hurld themselves voluntarily into the River. Several were trod under the Horses feet. The Country was cover'd

with

with the dead; the Ditches of *Siscia* were filled with the bodies of those, that fled thither for Sanctuary. *Maximus*, after having several times attempted in vain to rally his Troops; applied himself to his own safety, and retired as well as he could towards *Aquileia*, where he pretended to gather up the fragments of his Army, whilst his Brother *Marcellin* should defend the entrance of *Italy*.

An. 388.

XCVI. *Theodosius*, after having performed a Thanksgiving to God for his Victory, and rewarded upon the Field those who had distinguished themselves in this occasion, turned upon the right forthwith, and marched towards *Marcellin* with so much diligence, that he gave him not time enough to gain the narrow Passes of the *Alps*, nor even to understand the Defeat of his Brother. As soon as he was come near \* *Patovium*, a little City upon the *Drave*, where *Marcellin* was encamped, he resolved to give him battel the same day; but it was late, and the Troops were weary: which obliged him to refer it to the morrow. Every one prepared himself in the night; and at break of day the Emperor gave orders to assault the Enemy, who appeared already to be agreed upon a defence. The Fight began with much vehemence on both sides. On the one, the desire of conquering, the glory of having already overcome, and the pleasure of serving a Prince, who acknowledged the services which were rendred to him; on the other, the hope of plundering all *Italy*, and the fear of being punished, stir'd up the Combatants. But *Marcellin* had soon the Fate of his Brother. After this first resistance, some of his

\* *Pentium*

S

Troops

An. 388. Troops were put to the rout; the rest threw down their Colors, and demanded Quarter.

XCVII. *Theodosius* observing this war to be almost concluded, immediately detached *Arbogastes* with a body of Horse to go into *Gaul*, and seize upon young *Victor*, to whom *Maximus* had given the Title of *Cesar*. After which he pursued those that fled with an incredible eagerness. *Andragathus*, who had been sent to guard the *Alps*, had orders upon the first noise of *Valentinian's* embarking, to put himself to Sea with all the Vessels he could get together, and to take him upon his way. But he waited in vain upon the Coasts of *Ionis* for *Valentinian*, who had already crossed the Sea, and he abandoned the Passes of the Mountains to *Theodosius*.

*Pacat. in  
Panegy.*

This Prince found there no opposition. The City of *Hemona*, and the rest, which he found in his way, received him with the testimonies of an extraordinary joy, and furnished his victorious Army with all the refreshments it had occasion for. At last he arrived near *Aquileia*, and besieged that place. *Maximus*, who after several turnings and windings, had inclosed himself therein instead of retiring into *Gaul*, was sensible then that he could not possibly avoid a misfortune, which he should have foreseen, and recollected with himself what *St. Martin* had before told him, viz. that he should miserably perish in *Italy*, if he attempted to pass therein. He had a mind to make some resistance: but his Soldiers seeing his loss inevitable, opened the gates to the besiegers, and altogether siezing on his Person, pulled him from his Throne, where he was distributing money to some *Moorish* Cavaliers, who had attended him; and after having

deprived

deprived him of all the Ornaments of his Dignity  
put him into the hands of the Conqueror.

An. 388.

*Theodosius* did not abuse his Victory. He seemed more concerned at the misfortune of this Tyrant, than incensed at his Crimes. He reproached him with his perfidiousness in a behaviour, that argued more of compassion than of anger; and reflecting upon the justice of God's decisions, and the inconstancy of humane greatness, he was going to crown his victory by an act of Christian Generosity, in pardoning his Prisoner. But as he turned his head to conceal that emotion of Pity which appeared upon his face, the Soldiers snatcht him from his mercy, and having drawn him out of his Tent, made him to be beheaded in sight of the whole Army. *Andragatius* being advised a little while after of this news, and despairing of *Theodosius's* pardon for the murderer of *Gratian*, chose rather to throw himself headlong into the Sea, than to fall into his hands.

XCVIII. A Success so happy and so expeditions, which regained the Empire of the West, and secured that of the East to *Theodosius* and his Children, was published through the whole World. But the goodness and moderation of the Conqueror made his triumph more illustrious, than the obtaining of two battels, and the absolute destruction of the Tyrant. For he contented himself with the death of two or three persons unworthy of pardon, and received all the rest of the party, not as a Conqueror, but a Father. There was neither confiscating of goods nor losing of employments, nor spilling of blood. Every one had the liberty of returning to his house; and under a Prince of so much humanity, no body was sensible of hav-

Oro. l.

c. 35.



ing been overcome. He even allowed great Pen-  
 sions to the Wife of *Maximus*, whose Daughters  
 he caus'd to be educated with abundance of care,  
 and forgot nothing that might comfort them for  
 their misfortune, or entertain them according to  
 their condition. He would have granted the same  
 favor to *Victor* their Brother, if (against his inten-  
 tion) *Arbogastes*, to assure himself of *Gaul*, and  
 to take away from thence all subject of Rebellion,  
 had not put him to death. That which was most  
 great and heroic in this expedition, was not the  
 subduing the whole Empire of the West; it was the  
 restoring of it. As soon as he was Master thereof he  
 re-established in it the young *Valentinian*, adding new  
 Provinces to those which had been usurped, and re-  
 serving to himself for a compensation of his Labors,  
 nothing but the Glory of a disinterested Protection.

XCIX. The fame of this Victory astonished  
 the *Arians* of *Constantinople*, who had not expected  
 it, nor even wished for it. Touched at the rigo-  
 rous Decrees which had been declared against  
 them, they maliciously dispersed false reports in  
 the City, and determined this war according to  
 their desires, even before it was begun. They  
 assured that *Theodosius* had lost the battle, that he  
 had much ado to escape, and that he fled before  
*Maximus*. They rendred this plausible falshood  
 by the circumstances which they added, even so  
 far as to compute the number of the wounded and  
 dead on both sides. One would have said, that  
 they had been the Spectators of what was not yet  
 come to pass. Those very men, that had at first  
 spread abroad these false reports, gathered them  
 up afterwards as really true, being perswaded by  
 new particulars which were related to them, and  
 believed

An. 388.

Ambros. Ep.

29. ad Theod.

Aug. l. 5.

de civ. Dei.

c. 25.

Socrat. l. 5.

c. 13.

Sozom. l. 7.

c. 14.

believed the loss of the Emperor to be infallible; because they desired it. As there are always uneasy Spirits, who by a natural levity, or for particular Interests, are weary of the present Government; so many People noised abroad this news, that no body questioned it, or durst contradict it.

An 388.

C. The *Arians* made use of this occasion to revenge themselves for the deprivation of their Churches. They went out of their houses, like so many Furies, with Torches in their hands; and carrying every where tumult and disorder, they went to burn the Palace of the Patriarch *Nestarius*. They had proceeded to greater excesses, but the news of *Theodosius's* Victory being arrived at the same time, the fear of Punishment stopt the course of this Sedition, which the hopes of impunity had excited. These Hereticks went to cast themselves at the feet of *Arcadius*, and entreated him with so much importunity to intercede for them with his Father, that being affected with their Prayers, with the repentance they shewed of their crime, and the assurances they gave of being more submissive, and moderate for the future, he engaged himself to ask for their pardon. *Theodosius*, who desired nothing so much as to accustom his Son to Clemency, and to encourage him to make such Petitions to him, immediately granted his Request.

After some residence which the Emperor made at *Aquileia*, to refresh himself after the fatigues of war, and to give necessary orders for the security and peace of the Empire, he passed to *Milan*, where he published an Edict, by which he annulled all the Ordinances of *Maximus*, requiring that the memory thereof might be entirely abolished. It was about this time that some Bishops complained

Leg. 7. d:  
infirmam.  
his que sub  
Tyran.

An. 388. of the judgment he had given, and stir'd up against him the Zeal of St. *Ambrose*.

*Paulin. in  
vit. Ambr.*

CI. It was the custom of the Eastern Churches to honor every year the memory of the holy Martyrs, to assemble together upon the day of their Festivals, and to make Processions, in singing Psalms and Hymns. The first day of *August* some Solitaries, who were met together to celebrate the Feast of the holy *Maccabees*, went in procession through the Country, followed by some devout persons of their Neighborhood. They passed through a Village named *Callicin*, where the *Jews* had a Synagogue, and the *Valentinian* Hereticks a Temple. Whether this singing of Psalms was troublesome to them, or they took this ceremony for an Insult upon their Religions, they all went out, fell upon the Christians, and hindered them from passing further, after having abused them. The noise of this violence was soon dispersed: the Solitaries made complaints; the people were moved thereat, and the Bishop, transported with zeal, excited so well both the one and t'other to revenge the injury, that was done to God and his Martyrs, that they went to burn the Synagogue of the *Jews*, and the Temple of the Hereticks. The Emperour having been informed of the business by the Count of the East, ordered the Temple and the Synagogue to be rebuilt at the expence of the Bishop, and those who had burnt them, to be punished.

CII. The Oriental Bishops found the Decree too rough, advised St. *Ambrose* of it, and conjured him to employ all his credit towards the repealing thereof. This holy Archbishop, was then at *Aquileia*,

leia, to assist at the election of a Successor to Valerian Bishop of that City, who was lately deceased. Being unable then to go and find Theodosius, he wrote a Letter to him full of that generosity, wherewith he was accustomed to preach truth and justice to Emperors. He represented to him, That if he did not hearken to the Prayers of Bishops, God would not attend to those, which Bishops made for him; That there was this difference between good and bad Princes, the one would have their Subjects free, the others would dispense with none but Slaves; That as for him, he chose rather to pass for importunate, than for weak and unserviceable, when the glory of God, and the safety of the Emperor were concerned; That indeed he acknowledged him for a pious Prince, and one that feared God; but that the most pious oftentimes let themselves be prejudiced by an indiscreet Zeal, and a false Idea of Justice; That he was indebted to his Majesty for an infinite number of favours, and that it would be a cruel ingratitude to suffer his Benefactor to be wanting by an unworthy complaisance.

After that he made him see the consequences of this affair; That he reduced a Bishop to disobey him, or to betray his Ministry; and that he went to make either a Transgressor, or a Martyr, which would be unbecoming of such a Reign, as his; That the Enemies of the Church would triumph in those structures built with the Spoils of Christians, and the Patrimony of Jesus Christ; That to make him repeal his Ordinance of rebuilding the Synagogues, it sufficed to tell him, that Julian would have done it, and that the Fire of Heaven might fall to day, as it did then; That the Palace of the Patriarch of Constantinople was lately burnt, and that a vast number of Churches reduced to ashes, smokes still without any appearance of revenge; That there was no application but to erect profane Temples; That Maximus some



days before he was forsaken of God, had made a like  
 An. 388. Decree. Then he prayed him to take his freedom  
 for a testimony of his respect, and to believe that  
 it was a great proof of the zeal and tenderness he  
 had for him, to dare even to anger him for his  
 safety. He exhorted him at length to change his  
 opinion, and not to be ashamed to correct himself,  
 and made him apprehend that he endeavored to  
 reform him in private, lest he should be obliged  
 to speak to him publicly in the Church.

CIII. This Letter, of so much force and urgen-  
 cy, had not all the success which might have been  
 expected from it, and *Theodosius* still deferred to  
 give a favourable answer: which occasion'd the  
 Archbishop, upon his return to *Milan*, to speak  
 to him before all the People pursuant to his threat-  
 nings. For one day when the Emperor was at  
 Church to assist at the Sermon, the Saint made  
 choice of a Text suitable to the Subject he was to  
 treat of; and after having enlarged himself upon  
 the advantage one ought to make of corrections,  
 as the Auditors were in their greatest attention,  
 he fell upon the affair of the burnt Synagogue.  
 He directed his discourse to the Emperor, and  
 made God himself speak in these terms: *It is from  
 me thou hast the Diadem. I have made thee Emperor of  
 a simple private man, as thou wast. I have delivered  
 to thee the Army of thine Enemy. I have made pass in-  
 to thy Party those Troops, which he had raised against  
 thee. I have put his very Person into thy hands. I have  
 given thee Children, who shall reign after their Father.  
 I have afforded thee an easie Triumph, and by an Ordi-  
 nance thou hast just now made, thou goest to resign thy  
 Victory to my Enemies.*

Paulin. in  
 vit. Ambr.

CIV. These

CIV. These reproaches so sensibly touch'd *Theodofius*, that he drew near the Archbishop, as he descended from the Pulpit, and said to him, as it were in a complaining tone, *you have spoken against me to purpose, my Father.* The Saint replied to him, that his intention had been to speak for him, and that he would have the same zeal, whensoever his safety should be concerned. Then the Emperor confessed, that the Order which he had given out against the Bishop was too severe, and that it was fitting to repeal it. Some Lords, who were present, alledged, to make their Court, that the Solitaries ought at least to be persecuted, who had been the Authors of this commotion. *I speak at present to the Emperor,* (replied to them the holy Prelate) *and I know how to apply my self to you, when it shall be convenient.* They durst not make any further answer to a man, whose constancy they were acquainted with. Thus he obtained the revocation of the Decree, and after he had twice received assurances thereof from the Emperors own mouth, he went to offer to God the Holy Sacrifice.

In the time *Theodofius* was at *Milan*, all the considerable Bodies of the Empire sent Deputies to him, in order to testify the joy which they conceived for his Victory. The Senate of *Rome* was of the first in performing this duty. *Symmachus*, by his credit and intrigues, obtained the nomination of Deputies that were *Pagans*, like himself, and recommended to request in the name of the Senate, the preservation of the Altar of Victory, which *Maximus* had re-established.

CV. This Altar since the Reign of *Constantine* the Great, had been an original of Contests. It was

An. 388.

Herodian.

Prudent. l.

2. in Symm.

Symmach.

relat. ad

Imp.

D. Ambros.

contra

Symmach.

Ambros. ep.

31.

Symmach.

in relat. ad

Val.

was erected in a Chappel, which was built at the entrance of the Senate. Here was to be seen a Golden Statue, which represented Victory under the figure of a young Damosel, who had wings, and bore in her hands a Crown of Lawrel. The Pagans, after having lost the greatest part of the Temples consecrated to their Gods, whose very names were become insupportable to the Emperors, had fixed all the hopes of their Religion in a Goddess, whose name was so agreeable. They swore upon her Altar; they offered Sacrifices to her, and they made this fragment of Superstition and Idolatry pass for the Religion of the whole Senate. It was very uneasy to the Christians, who were at the Palace, to observe before their Eyes the exercise of a worship contrary to theirs; to smell in the very Senate, the odour of Sacrifices; and to hear the vows they made to a profane Divinity.

CVI. The Emperors erected or pulled down this Altar, according as they were moved by principles of Policy, or Piety. *Constantine* had dispensed with it out of Prudence, judging his condescension necessary in the alteration of Religion and Empire. *Constance* his Son destroyed it by a motion of Religion. The Tyrant *Magnentius* restored it to oblige some Pagan Senators, whom he had a mind to draw to his Party. *Constantine* pulled it down out of Ostentation, being desirous to let the *Romans* entertain a good opinion of his Faith, when he had deprived them of the Pope *Liberius*. *Julian*, by the inclination he had for Idolatry, and his hatred to the Christians, commanded the re-establishment thereof. *Jovian*, and the great *Valentinian* left it in the State, wherein they had found it, suffering a liberty

berly of Faith. *Gratian* destroyed the Altar with all its dependences, and thought to have overthrown it for ever. But *Maximus*, whether it was to have nothing common with a Prince whom he had put to death, or to gain the affection of the *Pagans* against him, whom he designed to chase from his Dominions, permitted them to rebuild what they would.

An. 388.

Socrat. l. 4.

c. 1.

Sozom. l. 6.

c. 6.

CVII. Thus the fortune of this Goddess was observed to change under each Emperor. The Deputies of the Senate being then arrived at *Milan*, rejoiced with *Theodosius* for the prosperity of his Arms; and after having performed all their compliments, they secretly negotiated with his Ministers the affair of their Religion. They had reason to hope for Success. The fear of leaving a party of Malecontents in *Rome*, the humour one is in to grant favours after a Victory, the little consequence it was of to dissemble a thing done, seemed to determine *Theodosius* to afford them the Altar they demanded. But *St. Ambrose*, who had so vigorously opposed *Symmachus* some years before, likewise opposed these Deputies, and remonstrated so well to the Emperor, that he ought not to abandon the Interests of God through considerations of policy, and false jealousies, that this Prince chose rather to disoblige these Magistrates, than to be wanting in his Duty to the Church, and so denied their requests.

CVIII. *Theodosius*, after having passed all the Winter, and part of the Spring at *Milan*, departed from thence to go to *Rome*, in order to receive the honour of Triumph. He made his entrance therein



therein in the month of *June*, with all the splendor that the great Actions he had done, deserved.

An. 388.

Sor. l. 7.

c. 14.

Claud. dem  
3. Consul.  
Honor.

The greatest Ornament of this Triumph was the modesty of him, that triumphed. He would have *Valentinian*, who was come to him after the defeat of *Maximus*, to share with him the glory of this day; and made him ascend into his Chariot with the Prince *Honorius*, whom he had sent for from *Constantinople*. He had carried before him the Spoils and Representations of the conquered Provinces. Then he came himself incompassed with all the Lords of his Court richly cloathed. His Chariot was drawn by Elephants, which the King of *Persia* had lately sent him. The Senate, the Nobility, and all the People followed with acclamations, and applauses extraordinary. Altho the solemnity of this entrance was very magnificent, there was nothing regarded but the Conqueror, for whom it was made. He spoke to the People upon the Tribunal in the *Forum*, and to the Senate in the Capitol with abundance of grace and majesty, and received very favourably the Speeches which where directed to him by all the Bodies, especially the Panegyric, which *Pacatus* the *Gaulish* Orator pronounced before him with the applause of the Senate, and all the Orders of the City.

Pacat. ib.

CIX. During the residence which *Theodosius* made at *Rome*, he gained by his civility and freedom the hearts of those People, who were still spurred on to maintain a remnant of their ancient Liberty. He went to see the public works; he rendred Visits to particulars, and walked without Guards and Solemnity, rather as a Senator, than Emperor. Above all, he employed his care to abolish

abolish the remainders of that Idolatry, which his Predecessors had tolerated. He prohibited Pagan Festivals, and Sacrifices: He dispossessed of their Ornaments, all the Temples which they had left in the Capitol, and broke in pieces all the Idols, which had been adored there. He preserved notwithstanding those Statues, which had been composed by excellent Workmen, and drawing them from places where they served for a profane Worship, he ordered them to be set up in Galleries, or in public places as an Ornament to the City.

An. 389.

August. de  
Civ. Dei l.

s. c. 26.

Prud. adv.

Symm. l. 1.

Hier. ep. 7.

CX. These things were done with so much applause, that the Emperor saw nothing so affecting in his Triumph, as the Joy which appeared in this occasion. Every one seconded his Zeal, and went to praise God, and bless *Theodosius* in those Temples, which had been so long profaned. There was gone but *Symmachus*, who procured his displeasure by troublesome supplications and remonstrances in favour of his Idols. This man, who had entertained a strict confederacy with *Maximus*, and had pronounced a Speech in his honour, full of flatteries, unworthy of a person of his Reputation and Quality, was afraid lest *Theodosius* should resent it. Being accused by some of High Treason, and pressed with the remorses of his Conscience, he fled into a Church for Sanctuary, not thinking the protection of his Gods powerful enough to save him, after all the services he had done them.

Socr. at. 2.

s. c. 14.

But observing that *Theodosius* made no great esteem of this accusation, he took courage; and to repair the fault which he had committed, he composed a Panegyrick in honour of this Prince, which he recited in his presence in the Senate.

But

But as Spirits strongly prejudiced always return to the subject of their prepossession, this man, towards the end of his discourse, cunningly fell upon Religion, and the Altar of Victory. *Theodosius* was offended at this obstinate sollicitation; and after having thanked him for his praises, he commanded him to retire, and to present himself no more before him. He recalled him a little while after from his exile, and shewed him the same friendship as before; being willing to obtain by sweetness that qualified man, whom he thought to have sufficiently corrected by this disgrace.

*Leg. 18.  
de Her.  
God.  
Theod.*

*Prud. adv.  
Symm. l. 1.*

CXI. He was not contented to compass the single ruine of Idolatry, he was also for chasing away all the Hereticks that were to be found in this City; and particularly he ordered the Præfect *Albin* to suffer no *Manichean* there. He had likewise many conferences with Pope *Sirinius*, after which he reformed several abuses he had intimation of. He set out very severe Edicts against Magicians, and against those who attempted to afford them a retreat, and to withdraw them from Justice. He purged the City of several kinds of irregularities, ordering places of debauchery to be demolished; and repressing the insolence of Thieves, who drew the Citizens into their Snares, and particularly Strangers, whom they robbed, or oftentimes kept them inclosed in subterraneous places. Thus this Prince was in continual motion for Justice and Piety; and was of opinion, that no Christian Emperor ought to reside some time in a place; without leaving therein more Safety, Religion and Continnence, than he found.

CXII. *Theod.*

An. 389.

Ruffin. l.

c. 22.

CXII. *Theodosius* received about the same time the news of the demolishing of the famous Temple of *Serapis* in *Alexandria*, which he had ordained to punish the Pagans for a Sedition they had caused. There was in *Alexandria* an old ruined Temple, which the Emperor *Constantius* had formerly bestowed upon the *Arians*. The number of the Catholics encreasing every day, the Patriarch *Theophilus* prayed the Emperor to grant him this forsaken Church. He obtained it, visited it, and had a mind to make some reparations therein. As they were digging they found dark Caves, more fit to conceal crimes, than to celebrate the Ceremonies of Religion. The *Gentiles*, who were unwilling to have the Shame of their Mysteries discovered, or those hidden places raked up, where they found parts of humane bodies dissevered, which had served for their wicked Sacrifices, hindered the Workmen from proceeding. The Christians insisted upon it; the thing came to an open Sedition. Notwithstanding the Christians were in greatest number, yet as they were more moderate than the others, they were beaten in some encounters. There were even some of them that were taken and barbarously massacred, because they would not oblige themselves to sacrifice to Idols.

The Magistrates went several times to the Temple of *Serapis*, where the seditious had intrenched themselves, and endeavored to make them return to their Duty: but being unable to force them, or to reduce them by reason, and threatnings, they gave the Emperor information of it, who answered them, *That the Martyrs which they had made were rather to be praised than pitied; but*



to avoid such disorders for the future, it was necessary  
 An. 389. cut off the cause, that is to say, to destroy the Temple.

This Letter being read publickly, the Christians testified their joy by extraordinary crys; the affrighted *Gentiles* hid themselves, or betook themselves to flight. They began to execute the Sentence by demolishing the Temple of *Serapis*, and by the overthrowing that famous Idol, which King *Sesostris* had got made. They divided it in several pieces, and dragg'd it along the streets.

CXIII. They gave the same entertainment to all the other Pagan Divinities. Their Weakness appeared, the Delusions and Tricks of the Priests were discovered, and several were converted to Jesus Christ. *Theodosius* learning this happy News, lifted up his Hands to Heaven, and cried out, *give thee thanks, O God, in that thou hast destroyed the Errors of that superstitious City, without obliging me to spill the blood of my Subjects.* He wrote immediately to the Patriarch, to rejoyce with him for the favor which God had shewn to his Church, and sent him an order to collect all the Idols of Gold or Silver which had been pulled down, and to distribute the value of them to the poor of his Diocess; adding that he should make appear to the *Gentiles*, that the Zeal of Christians was not mixed with any sort of Avarice, and that he should give them an example of a pure and disinterested Religion. They sold every piece of those precious Statues. They made Vessels of Charity of other Mettals, which had been of service to Superstition. *Theophilus* reserved only an Idol, which he set up in the public place, to the end that Posterity might one day laugh at the *Gentiles*, by seeing the remains of their ridiculous Worship; which seemed to

them

them more injurious than all the rest. This Patriarch built a Church in honour of St. John Baptist in the place of the Temple of Serapis. all the Bishops of Egypt followed this example, and a little after this Province so tied to its Superstitions, had deliverance.

CXIV. *Theodosius* more satisfied with the happy success of Religion, than his Triumphs, departed from Rome the first day of September, in order to return to Milan, and from thence to Constantinople. He restored the Empire to *Valentinian*, and imprinted so well in his mind the Catholick Religion, by his repeated instructions, that this young Prince who was naturally disposed to do well, became the defender of the Faith, and put himself entirely under the discipline of St. Ambrose, whom he honored as his Father to his death.

The Empress *Justine*, who had taken so much care to inspire into him that Heresy, with which she was infected, had not the satisfaction to behold his triumph and re-establishment. God permitted her to dye before the accomplishment of the war. She was the daughter of *Justus*, Governor of *La Marche* under the Emperor *Constantius*. She had espoused in her first Nuptials the Tyrant *Magnentius*, who after he had lost the battle of *Mursa* in *Pannonia*, became the murderer of himself, to avoid the punishment, which his Rebellion had deserved. The Great *Valentinian* became enamoured of her, and married her after the death of the Empress *Severa* his first Wife. She was a Princess fierce, imperious, fixed to her own sense, and possessed with all the imperies of the *Arians*. The influence she had over the spirit of her Husband, and the Authority she had taken over her Son,

An. 389.

Socr. l. 7.  
c. 14.Ambr. Ep.  
de Orat. de  
obit. Theod.Ambr. in  
fun. Valent.Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 26.

Son, had occasioned great troubles in the Church  
 and if God had not opposed to her a Bishop,  
 unshaken as *St. Ambrose* was, the *Arians* had become  
 masters in *Milan*; and it had been experience  
 what an abused Princess can do, that joyns to the  
 infirmity of her Sex, the violence of her passion

An. 389.

Sulp. Sever.

Dialog. 2.

c. 6.

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## HISTORY

OF

THEODOSIUS the Great.

## BOOK IV.

**T**HE Empire, since the defeat of *Maximus*, had enjoyed a profound Peace; and *Theodosius* re-established at leisure the Affairs of the West, before he repassed to *Constantinople*, when he received the news of the Sedition hapned at *Thessalonica*. The occasion of it had been inconsiderable; but the consequences were so great, that they make one of the principal parts of this History.

Sezom. 1. 7.  
c. 15.

I. *Botheric* Governor of *Illyrium*, and Lieutenant General of the Emperor's Armies, had received Orders to continue in his Government with the Troops which were left him, to retain the People in their Duty, or to oppose the *Barbarians*, if they attempted to make any irruption upon the Lands of the Empire on that side. He resided at *Thessalonica*, a very rich and populous City, Capital not only of *Macedonia*, but also of several adjacent Pro-

Provinces. From thence he observed and regulated all things with a great deal of prudence and justice, whilst the Emperor was employed in War against *Maximus*. As soon as he had received advice of the Victory which *Theodosius* had won, he ordered publick Rejoycings in all the Cities of his Government. The Inhabitants of *Theſſalonica* being affected for the glory of their Prince, and naturally disposed to all kinds of Spectacles, signalized themselves in this occasion. They celebrated, during several days, publick Sports with an extraordinary magnificence.

A Coachman of *Botheric* got herein a mighty reputation, and appeared so dexterous and expert in managing Horses, and conducting Chariots in the *Circus*, that the People could not sufficiently observe and commend him. He enjoyed this popular Favor but a little time, for having been accused and convicted of some infamous debaucheries, *Botheric*, a wise and austere Man, commanded him to be seized, and confined him to a close Prison in order to correct him, and to retain all his People in modesty by this example of Severity and Justice. As they still prepared Horse courses at *Theſſalonica*, the People possessed with the address and dexterity of this Man, judging that he alone was capable of honouring this Festival, resolved to demand his Liberty. They who had undertaken to obtain it, being unable to affect the humor of the Governor by their humble Petitions, the People run in crowds to the Palace, and made new Solicitations: But *Botheric* would not relax in an Affair, wherein was concerned not only the Discipline of his Family, but also the Authority of his Charge; for which they seemed not to have a sufficient respect. Then the most seditious



*An. 390.* of them began to murmur, and taking this refusal for an injustice done to them, they demanded the liberty of the Prisoner, not only as a Favor, but as a Necessity. All the City was insensibly in motion. Some made to the Prison-gates, in order to force them open; others drove away by force of stones the Magistrates, who endeavoured to oppose them; and as there is nothing whereof the Rabble is not capable, when they are once hot, they broke open the gates of the Palace, dispersed the Guards who were there, and killed *Barbarus* himself, who came before them to endeavor to appease them.

II. The Emperor having information of this disturbance, was so extremely incensed at it, that he resolved to destroy that City, and condemned upon the spot part of its Inhabitants to death. *St. Ambrose*, who was acquainted with the humor of this Prince, and interested himself for his real glory, was afraid lest he should abandon himself to his first motions, or to the inconsiderate counsels of some Lords of his Court. He inspired him so seasonably with sentiments of sweetness and piety, that he made him revoke the Sentence he had pronounced in the first heat of his displeasure. Several other Prelates joined their Prayers to those of the Archbishop, and they obtained of the Emperor the preservation of the Lives of all those guilty People.

But his chief Officers, and particularly *Ruffinus* great Master of the Palace, who had a great power over his temper, took their opportunities to remonstrate to him, That it was necessary at last to repress the Liberty of People, which increased every day through the hopes of Impunity; That he had but too much par-

done

*Paulin. in  
Ep. Ambr.*

*Aug. de civ.  
Dei. l. 5.  
c. 25.*

detest already, since there remained no farther respect  
for his Honor, nor security for his most faithful Ser-  
vants; That he would find himself exposed to the In-  
solence of his Subjects, if he suffered his Authority to  
be weakened by condoning their Rebellion; That it  
was contrary to common sense for an Emperor, who knew  
so well how to subdue his Enemies, to be unable to cha-  
stise a few Rebels; That Bishops were always obliged to  
practise Clemency, but that it was the business of Prin-  
ces to make use of it according to the necessity of their  
Affairs; because an Empire is not to be governed as a  
Diocese, the Church and State having different Rules and  
Maxims; That there was, in a word, as well excess  
in the pardoning of Crimes, as in the punishment thereof,  
and thus it was time to put a stop to the disorder, where-  
with the State was threatened, by rigorously chastising that  
which was lately come to pass.

Then they recalled in his mind the overthrow-  
ing of the Statues of the Empress in Antioch, the  
Palaces of the Patriarch burnt by the Arians at  
Constantinople, and the Synagogue of Calicut, de-  
stroyed by the indiscreet zeal of certain Solitaries.  
They made him foresee a thousand dangerous  
consequences, and rekindled his displeasure by  
these new Remonstrances to such a height, that he  
forgot his word, and resolved to abandon Thessa-  
lonica to the fury of the Soldiers. He went out of  
Milan, on purpose to avoid the Admonitions of  
the Bishops, and complained in his Council of  
those who took care to inform St. Ambrose of  
all the Resolutions which were there concluded  
on.

III. Theodosius was of a hot and passionate tem-  
per, and easily permitted himself to be transported  
to anger against those who had offended him, but  
after

*Ambr. 399.  
Ambrosius in Theod.*

*Ambrosius in  
fun. Theod.*

after this first emotion, whereof he was not always Master, he returned of a sudden to himself, and provided they did not turn the goodness of his nature by evil counsels, he pardoned so much the more readily, as his transport had been violent. He took it well of those who corrected him in these occasions; and whether he was ashamed of yielding to his Passion, or that he desired to repair his fault, or else believed that the anger of Princes was severe enough to support, he oftentimes pardoned Criminals, thro' the single Reasons of having reprov'd them too roughly. But he had, as the most part of good Princes, a dangerous confidence in those whom he supposed to be his Friends, and who gave life to his Passions, and concealed their own under appearances of the publick good. Thus he let himself be sometimes surprized, and altho' his intentions were to do well, he was capable of committing things that were faulty.

*Ambr. ep.  
28.*

*Ruffin. l. 2.  
c. 18.*

IV. The Resolution then being taken of making an example of severity upon this City, the Affair was propos'd in Council, where it was unanimously agreed, *That Troops should be sent to Thessalonica, and all those seditious People put to the Sword.* The deliberation was held secret. They dispatched Orders necessary for the execution, and in the Crime, which was going to be committed, they fear'd nothing but St. Ambrose's coming to be informed of it. The Officers, who were charged with this bloody Commission, acquitted themselves with all the Policy and Cruelty which had been recommended to them. They amused, by certain preparations of courses, and publick sports, this People, who ought rather to have expected Punish-

Punishment, than Sights; and having drawn a very great number of them to the Circus, they gave the Signal which had been agreed upon amongst them.

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Then were seen to run from all sides Soldiers, who betook themselves, with Arms in their hands, to the Streets, Houses, and especially the Circus, where the People were assembled. There they put all to the Sword, without any distinction of Age, Sex and Quality. The first that was met with, was the first sacrificed. The innocent perished with the guilty, even strangers, who had no share in the Crime, were involved in the same punishment; and the Soldiers hot in murder, sought no longer to chastise a Crime, but to satisfy their brutal Fury.

Sozom. l. 7.

c. 24.

It was in this occasion that one of the richest Merchants of the City, observing his Family ready to undergo the fatal Massacre, cast himself at the feet of these Murderers, in vain endeavoured to move them, by his tears and his entreaties, and conjured them to take his possessions and his own life, for that of two Children, who were equally dear to him. Then, as if they had been touched with some pity, they replied to him, That the number of the dead inserted in their Commission, was not yet completed; That they could dispose but of a single Pardon, and bid him chuse, with haste; which of the two he would have preserved. But this miserable Father being reduced to the sad necessity of delivering one for the safety of the other, and not determining soon enough upon this choice pursuant to the humor of these Barbarians, they could no longer bear with this suspension, and inhumanely butchered the two Brothers. The City was abandoned to the Sword

Paulin. in

vit. S.

Ambr.

for



for the space of three hours, and there perished, An. 390. to the number of 7000 persons.

*Theodoros.*  
L. 5. c. 17. Altho' one might have believed, that *Theodosius* of his own motion had not commanded this unlimited Revenge; notwithstanding as Princes ought to answer for whatsoever is done in their name, and for the excesses which are committed in the execution of their Orders, every one cast the blame upon him. The noise thereof was dispersed thro' the whole East. The News came to *Adrian*, where several Bishops were arrived to assist at the Council, which was to be held against *Jovinian*, and his Partisans. These Prelates abhorred an Action so barbarous, and highly condemned the Author.

*Ambros.*  
Epist. 28.

V. *St. Ambrose* having learnt that this Prince had a design to come to him, immediately composed a Letter to him to let him know the greatness of his Crime, and to exhort him to Repentance. He excuses himself for not having the Honour to meet him. He declares to him with respect, That altho' he retains in his heart all the acknowledgements he ought to have for the testimonies of his Affection, and the Favors he had received from him, yet he no longer feels the same joy he had formerly conceived at his arrival; That he chuses rather to let him remain in peace, and give him opportunity of making reflections upon his Conduct, than to importune him by his over-hasty Corrections; That he acknowledges him for a great Prince, one that fears God, zealous for the Faith, full of good intentions, but hasty of his own nature, and susceptible of the impressions which are given him, whether it be in relation to Pardon, or Revenge.

After having thus drawn the character of the Emperor to the Emperor himself, he comes to the affair

# THEODOSIUS the Great.

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affair of Thessalonica, and represents to him, That it is a matter of punishment unheard of; That his Crime is so much the greater, as the greatness of it had been shewn to him before he undertook it; That the assembled Bishops had been grieved thereat, and judged it necessary for him to be reconciled with God, before he ought to be partaker of the Sacred Mysteries; That he should lament and expiate his sin by tears and penance, and not be ashamed of following David's example, who was a great King, from whom Jesus Christ was descended according to the flesh; and who was guilty of the death but of a single innocent; That he did not tell him these things to confound him, but to excite him by this example to acknowledge his Fault, and to humble himself before God; That every man, as great as he may be, is subject to failings; That he advises him, and conjures him, as a Friend, and that he exhorts him, and admonishes him, as a Bishop, to repair his Fault; That it would be a deplorable thing for a Prince who had afforded such great examples of Piety and Clemency to remain obdurate, and after having pardoned so many Criminals, to make a scruple of repenting, for having caus'd the ruine of so many innocent persons; That whatsoever great Qualities he had to reign, and what Battels soever he had won, he had been more esteemed for his Piety, than his Victories; but that he had lost by one single Action, all the Glory which he had acquired by so many others.

He declared to him afterwards, That the acknowledgment, the esteem and respect he retains for him in his heart, will not hinder him from pursuing the Orders of the Church, and from refusing to offer in his presence the Divine Sacrifice, till he had satisfied God; That moreover he wrote this to him with his own hand, so the end that he might reflect upon it in his own person; That he should rather chuse to win the Favors of his Emperor by

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an honest Complaisance, than to disturb him by several Admonitions; but when the Cause of God is concerned, he is obliged to sacrifice his Inclination to his Duty.

In a word, he exhorts him to accuse and condemn his Sin himself, and concludes by these words full of the tenderness of a Father: *Woe to God, my Lord, that I had rather believed my own Insinuation, than the experience I have had of your Goodness! But when I imagined to my self, that I have so often seen you pardon, and return from your displeasure, I confided too much in your clemency; you have been possessed, and I have not prevented what I ought to have fear'd, and what I was scarce able to foresee. God knows the affliction I entertain for you, and with what fervency I entreat of him your salvation. If you are persuaded of the reality of what I say, pursue the counsel which I give you, if not, excuse my zeal, and take it not amiss that I will rather act what's pleasing to God, than you.*

VI. The Emperor having received this Letter, was touched at so free, and so prudent a Remonstrance. The clouds of Prejudice being dispersed, he lookt upon the Action he had done, stript of the pretences and reasonings of Politicks. His Soul pressed with the remorse of his Crime, was seized with a religious fear of the judgments of God, and the censures of the Church. In this condition being scarce able to support himself, and expecting no solid consolation but from the holy Archbishop, whose counsels he had not reverenc'd enough, and whose inflexible zeal he had experienc'd, he departed on a sudden for Milan.

VII: As

VII. As soon as he was arrived there, his thoughts were wholly taken up about giving some testimonies of his Piety, in order to take away the evil impressions which he had afforded of himself. To that end he would go to the Cathedral to assist at the publick Prayers, and to partake of the holy Mysteries. The Archbishop was informed of it, and leaving the Quire of the Church where he was, went beyond the Porch to attend him. As soon as he saw him appear, he advanced some steps towards him, and said to him with that Authority which the character and sanctity of his life allow'd him:

It is to be believed, O Emperor, that you do not yet comprehend the enormity of your Crime, since you dare present your self here. Perhaps that possessed of the greatness of your Dignity, you hide your Infirmities to your self, and that your Pride intoxicates your Reason. Consider that you are of a frail nature, that you were drawn out of a little dust, as other men, and that you will return to dust as well as they. Let not your self be dazzled with the splendor of that Purple which covers an infirm and mortal Body. Those whom you command are of the same nature with your self, and you serve with them the same God, who is the Master of Subjects and Sovereigns. How then do you attempt to enter into his Temple? Will you dare to extend your hands yet stained with the innocent Blood you have spilt, to take the Sacred Body of Jesus Christ? Will you dare to receive his adorable Blood in that month, which in the excess of your Anger has caused so many Murders? Retire then, and don't add a new Crime to that which you have already committed: receive rather with submission the Sentence I pronounce upon earth, and which Jesus Christ approves

in

Theod. l. 5.  
c. 17.



*in Heaven against your Sin, since 'tis in order to your  
An. 390. salvation.*

*Theodosius* being sensibly affected at this discourse, remained some time with dejected eyes in silence: after which he replied to the Archbishop *That he acknowledged his Crime; but that he hoped God would have regard to his infirmity; and as he alledg'd the example of David, who had committed a Homicide and an Adultery both together, the Archbishop answered to him, You have imitated him in his Sin, imitate him also in his Repentance.* Then this Prince, who was perfectly instructed in the Maxims of Religion, and the Authority of the Church, instead of being offended at this rebuke, looks upon it as a wholesome remedy for an evil, the consequences of which he had not till then discerned. He retired into his Palace with tears in his eyes, and continued eight entire months remote from the Sacred Mysteries, living as a Penitent, and scarce perceiving that he was Emperor.

*Theodor. l.  
5. c. 17.*

VIII. In the mean time the Feast of the Nativity of our Lord being come, *Theodosius* pierced with a lively grief, arose earlier than he was used to do; and as he could have no share in the solemnity of this day, he disposed himself to spend it in a profound sadness. *Ruffin*, great Master of the Palace, whom he honoured with his friendship and his confidence, being entred into his Chamber, found him in this heaviness, and asked him the occasion. Having known it, he endeavoured to comfort him, by cunningly insinuating to him, *That he ought to exalt himself above certain Fears, which were concealed under the name of Religion; That one should act as Master, when one had obtained to be so; That it*

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*Theodosius  
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IX. *Ruffin*  
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dangerous to be subjected to the Censures of Men, An 390  
 had never governed States; That notwithstanding he enjoyed that delicacy of Conscience, he might satisfy  
 Pleas without falling into a depression; That the evil  
 was so great as it was made to be; That, after all,  
 had reason to punish Criminals, and none to undergo  
 Affliction. Thus this Favorite, after he  
 disposed his Master to commit a great Fault,  
 tempted also by his Flatteries to weaken his Re-  
 sistance.

brother, so far from accepting these Consola-  
 tions, appeared more concerned than he was be-  
 fore; and after he had remained some time with-  
 out being able to answer, Cease, Ruffin, said he to  
 with indignation, cease to laugh at my Affliction;  
 I am a better Judge of my Condition, than you. Have  
 reason to be sorrowful, when I consider that the  
 rest of my Subjects have the liberty to lay of offering  
 Prayers at the feet of the Altars, and that I am the  
 person to whom is prohibited not only the entrance of  
 Church, but also that of Heaven, according to that  
 Lesson of the Gospel, Whatsoever ye shall bind on  
 Earth, shall be likewise bound in Heaven.

Ruffin seeing no probability of dispossessing  
 the mind of this Prince of that religious Fear,  
 which St. Ambrose had imprinted therein by his  
 exhortations, offered to go and find this Pre-  
 late, and to oblige him by his entreaties to take off  
 the sentence of Excommunication. Theodosius an-  
 swered to him, That he had to do with an inflexible  
 man who had no regard to the rank or power of Em-  
 perors, when the Laws and Discipline of the Church were  
 concerned; That he acknowledged the Archbishop's Sen-  
 tence to be just; and that it were better to finish the

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expiation of his Crime, than vainly to demand the favour of an over-hasty Absolution.

The ordinary practice of the Church, not to receive Penitents publicly till towards Easter, and to keep wilful Murderers several years in Penance, induced the Emperor to believe that this attempt would be fruitless. Notwithstanding *Ruffin* was so instant with him to shake off his Concern, he gave him such fair hopes, that this Prince permitted him to go to the Archbishop, and resolved to follow himself a little after. *Ruffin* acquitted himself of his Commission with much dexterity; *St. Ambrose* observing that he made a Negotiation of State of an Ecclesiastical reconciliation, replied to him with his usual freedom, That he, who was the first Author of the Crime, was not fit to be the Mediator of the Absolution; and that for all the while the shame and fear he retained of the judgment of God, he ought not to think of the affair of *Thessalonica*, but to bewail the evil counsels which he had given to his Master. *Ruffin* was not discouraged at these reproaches: he employed the most affecting importunities and Prayers, and forgot nothing that might have influence upon the spirit of the Archbishop. When he saw that he could obtain nothing, he gave him notice that the Emperor would soon be at the Church. The Saint answered him, without any surprize, That he would attend at the door in order to forbid him entrance; That if he came as a Christian Emperor, he would not violate the Laws of his Religion; That if he would become Tyrant, he might add the death of a Bishop to that of so many innocents whom he had already caus'd to be slain.

X. *Ruffin* having heard this Answer, gave immediate information to *Theodosius*, that the business had not succeeded according to his expectation, and that he pray'd him not to come. The Emperor was already pretty far advanced, when he received this advice. He stopt, and after having paused awhile, he went on, and resolved to endure the confusion which he thought he had deserved. The Archbishop was in a Hall near the Church, where he usually gave his Audiences, when they came to inform him that the Emperor was at the door. He advanced towards him, and said to him, that he did not perform the action of a Christian Emperor, if he attempted to force the Church; That it was to rebel against God himself, and to trample under foot the Divine Laws, to pretend to assist at the Sacred Mysteries, before he had done Penance for his Sin. *Theodosius* replied to him with abundance of submission, That his intention was not to enter by force into the House of God, nor to violate the Ordinances of the Church: but that he came to conjure him to break his fasts, and to open him the Gate of Salvation in the Name of Jesus Christ, who has opened that of his Mercy to those Sinners who repent sincerely. St. *Amrose* asked him what Penance he had done, and what Remedies he had employed towards the Cure of so dangerous a Wound? I come to you as the Physitian, replied the Emperor, 'tis you that are to ordain what I ought to do.

XI. Then the holy Archbishop represented to him the misfortune of a Prince who did not regulate his Passions, and who exposed himself to pronounce unjust Decrees, and to shed innocent blood, and ordered him to make a Law that might serve



as a curb to his displeasure, and to that of his Successors. This Law directed, That if the Emperors, against their Custom, were obliged to make use of an extreme Severity towards any one, after having pronounced the Sentence of Death, they should defer the execution thereof an entire month, to the end that their Passions being relented, they might reflect upon their judgments, and distinguish, without prejudice, the innocent from the guilty. Whether this Ordinance was then composed, or that it had been published eight years before, as some Historians have remarked, Theodosius gave Orders for it to be writ down immediately, signed it, and promised to observe it.

That being done, he was absolved, and having been admitted into the Church, he prostrated himself, and began his Prayers by those words of the King, such a Sinner and Penitent as himself, *My Soul is fixed even unto the ground; Lord, give me according to thy Word.* He remained in this posture, beating his Breast from time to time, lifting up his voice towards Heaven, to ask for Pardon, and lamenting his Sin in the sight of all the People who were touched at it, and wept along with him. When he was going to the Offering, he arose, advanced towards the Altar, where he offered his Gifts as he was used to do, and went to place himself in the Quire amongst the Priests near the Altar.

XII. The Archbishop having perceived him, and desiring to abolish a Custom, which the complaisance of Bishops, and the remissness of Discipline had introduced, sent to ask him what he expected there; and when it was told him from the Emperor, that he waited for the time of being

Socr. l. 7.  
c. 24.

admitted to the communion of the Sacred Mysteries, he sent him word by one of his Deacons, That he was amazed to see him thus in the Sanctuary; That the Purple made him Emperor, and not Priest, and that he had no place in the Church but as the other People. The Emperor answered, That it was no design against the Order of the Church, nor an Affectation to distinguish himself from all the rest; but that he had thought the Custom was the same at Milan, as at Constantinople, where he placed himself in the Quire; and after having thanked the Archbishop for being so kind as to inform him of his Duty, he went out of the Balister, and took his place amongst the People.

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This Lesson remained so strongly fixed in his mind, that at his return to Constantinople, being in the Cathedral Church upon a great Holyday, he went out of the Quire, after he had made his Offering. And when the Patriarch Nestarius sent to desire him to re-enter, and to resume the place that was designed for his Majesty, Alas! said he sighing, I have been a long time finding out the distinction between a Bishop, and an Emperor! I am encompassed with People that flatter me; I have found but one Man that has set me in the right way, and has told me the truth, and I know but one true Bishop in the world, which is Ambrose. From this time the Emperor kept without the Balister, a little above the People, but below the Priests, such influence had the correction of a zealous and unblameable Prelate upon a Prince, who had some care of his salvation. All the Church was edified by the docility and faith of this Emperor. The holy Fathers in their Writings, have consecrated the memory of his Piety: and by this example they have admonished all Sovereigns to regulate their Au-

Aug. de  
civ. Dei  
l. 5. c. 26.

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*Ambros. in  
fun. Theod.  
Paul. &c.*

thority by Justice and not by their Passions; to distinguish good from evil councils; and to be more ashamed of the sins they commit, than of the penance they ought to do for them.

XIII. *Theodosius* after having submitted himself to the Laws of the Church, employed his Authority to make them observed, and repressed the insolence of *Jovinian*, and his Disciples, who the Council of *Milan* had condemned. *Jovinian* had been a Religious in a Monastery of the Suburbs of *Milan*, which *St. Ambrose* entertained by his cares in an exact regularity. This giddy-headed and sensual man was soon weary of leading an austere and penitent life. He forsook it, and drew after him certain infirm Spirits, which he had infected with a contagious doctrine. He had some design to re-enter into this holy Society; but it was judged that his repentance was not sincere, and that his conversation would be dangerous, in so much that they refused to receive him. He was so nettled at this denial, that he taught publicly, That fasting, and other exercises of penitence were of no importance; That Virginity had no advantage over Marriage; That they, who are baptized, can't be dejected by temptations: That there was but one reward for all the happy, and several other Maxims, which tended to the remissness of manners, and the decay of discipline. Besides the badness of his cause, it was ill sustained, because he had neither politeness nor eloquence in his Writings: but as it flattered the sensual inclinations of men, it was easie to persuade. Thus by debasing the glory of Virginity, he seduced several *Roman Virgins*; and by virtue of declaiming against Celibacy, he disposed good men to dissolution.

*Hieronym.  
contra Jov.  
l. 2.*

*August de  
Har. f. c.  
82.*

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Some holy and learned persons wrote against his doctrine and his life, which was very conformable to his opinions; and even reproached him with his delicacies, his luxury, and his incontinence very smartly. The Pope *Siricius*, after having condemned this Arch-Heretick, sent his Legats to *Milan*, to call a Synod there, and to extinguish these new errors in the very place, where they were brought forth. This Synod, which began to assemble when the news of the affair of *Thessalonica* arrived, had judged *Jovinian* and his Companions, conformably to the Sentence of *Rome*; there remained nothing further to do, but to execute it. *Theodosius* took it upon himself; and by a Rescript dated at *Verona* the second day of *September*, he chased from *Rome* those irregular men, who still retained the name and habit of their first Profession, and banished them into remote deserts, where they must have lived in a forced continence, if the Magistrates had been more exact in executing the order which they had received.

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Ambr.  
de Virgin.  
Hier. l. 2.  
con. Jov.  
August de  
bono conjug.

Leg. 1. de  
anach. cod.  
Theod.

XIV. The zeal of this Prince did not terminate here; for having learnt that this Heresie had introduced strange disorders in *Rome*, he set out very severe Ordinances against several sorts of impurities; and very expressly commanded the Lieutenant of the City to put a stop to this corruption, by Punishments proportioned to the Crimes, in order to restore amongst the Romans that decency of manners, to which *Constantine the Great* had formerly begun to reduce them. It was about this time that he prohibited, under very severe penalties, the marriage of Cousin-germans, renewing the ancient Edicts, which an unbridled

Aurel. viſt.  
in Theod.  
Ambr. ep.

66.



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Liberty had made absolutely void. He still established several Laws, which related to the quiet of the State, and the government of the Church. The Regulation which he made upon the subject of Deaconesses, deserves to be related here with all its circumstances, as well because the occasion he had to do it at that time made a mighty noise, as because Princes may draw from thence some instruction for their conduct.

Sozom. l. 7.  
c. 16.

XV. The Church of *Rome* has always exacted from Penitents an open or particular Confession of their Sins, as a necessary Humiliation, and an evident mark of grief and repentance. Ministers appointed for the direction of consciences, heard the accusations which every one offered against himself, and ordained penalties and satisfactions proportioned to the Sins, which were exposed to them. The Bishop alone held this Tribunal of Penance, as long as Christians lived in the favour and purity of the Rules of the Gospel. But their number being encreased, and discipline being slackned as soon as the Persecutions had ceased, Sins became so frequent, and the Bishops found themselves charged with so many cares, that it was necessary to establish in every Church a Penitentiary Priest. This received the Confessions of Penitents, prescribed them the time and manner of satisfaction; and after having tried them according to their necessities, by practices of Penance, he presented them to the Bishop to be reconciled.

Socrat. l. 5.  
c. 19.

Sozom. ib.

XVI. This Office, that had been long since established at *Constantinople*, was suppressed by the Patriarch *Nectarius*, upon the occasion of a disorder happened in his Church. A young Widow of Quality,

Quality, who in all probability, through a devotion of but little substance, had raised herself to the degree of Deaconess, made a confession of all her past life to a Penitentiary, who imposed on her, as an expiation of her faults, extraordinary Fasts and Prayers. As she was obliged to be a long time at Church in order to acquit her self of the satisfactions which had been prescribed her, She had an opportunity of seeing and conversing often with a young Deacon, in whom she had reposed too much confidence. These entertainments very serious at the beginning, degenerated on both sides into no very decent familiarities, and this spiritual correspondence became at length a criminal passion. This Widow being pressed at last with a remorse of Conscience, went to declare her Sin, and imprudently named him who had seduced her.

The Penitentiary had a mind to examine the truth of the fact; The Patriarch was advised of it, the Deacon was deposed. The care which was taken to conceal the subject of this deposition, made every one more curious to inform himself of it. They presently discovered the crime, which some persons had already suspected; the noise was dispersed throughout the City. The People casting the fault of one Ecclesiastick upon the whole Clergy, were upon the point of making an insurrection. The Patriarch *Nectarius*, in order to put a stop to this commotion, and to take away for the future all occasion of such like scandals, suppressed the Office of Penitentiary in his Church, by the advice of one of his Priests named *Eudemon*. Whether he did abolish this Charge, or only interrupted for a time the practice of publick Penance, he made a considerable breach in discipline.

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XVII. Be it as it will, *Theodosius* being concerned at the disorder which had happened at *Constantinople*, and willing to take from the Pagans all occasion of crying down the manners of the Church, set forth an Ordinance, whereby he regulated the Age and Testaments of Deaconesses. They were Ladies of a remarkable piety, who employed themselves in all that regarded the care, instruction, or discipline of persons of their Sex. They distributed the charities of the faithful, taught the Principles of Faith, and the ceremonies of Baptism, took upon them all the cares that were agreeable to modesty and decency, in immersions, unctions, burials; and altho their employment was not an order in the Hierarchy, yet it was an ancient and considerable Ministry.

Clem. 1. 3.

8.

Const. Epip.

Hæres. 79.

Bona rer.

Litur. c. 25.

Paul Epist.

ad Rom. 16.

There were two sorts of abuses crept in amongst them. Some, in their youth, through an impatient desire to distinguish themselves by their devotion, cut off their hair, and introduced themselves into the Church: from hence proceeded oftentimes scandal; always danger. Others, by an indiscreet liberality, were spurr'd on to give their possessions to the Churches and Hospitals, and often ruined their families to satisfy the avarice of the Clergy.

Leg. 27. de

Episc. Cod.

Theod.

*Theodosius*, to redress these abuses, ordained that no Widow should be received into the rank of Deaconess, who was not sixty years old, pursuant to the Precept of *St. Paul*; and prohibited those who were received to give away, under pretences of Religion, their Gold, Silver, and Jewels, leaving them the entire disposition of the revenues of their lands; but not permitting them to scatter them away, or to alienate their grounds



to the prejudice of their Children or Relations, nor to leave them by Will to the Clergy, to the Poor, or to the Churches. An. 390.

The first part of his Ordinance was generally approved of; but it was remonstrated to him, *That it was not just to obstruct the good intentions of dying Widows, and to stop one of the chief Springs of Charity; That it was to encroach upon the Liberty of the Church, and even the Privileges of the Poor, to exclude them from the Patrimonies and Alms of the Faithful; and that Religion was already but too much weakened, and Charity grown too cold, without constraining them still by Laws injurious to both.* The Emperor, who was never ashamed to recant, when it was evidenced to him that he was under a mistake, received this Remonstrance so well, that two months after he published at *Verona* a revocation of this Law. He commanded it to be taken out of all Registers, to the end that no Pleader might alledge it, and no Magistrate make use thereof in Judgments.

XVIII. Whilst he was thus taken up at *Milan*, he received the News of the death of the Empress *Galla* his second Wife, who had remained at *Constantinople*. He was very sensibly concerned at the loss of this Princess, whom he had passionately loved, and whom he had enjoyed but a little time amongst the troubles of War, and the cares of the re-establishment of the Empire. He had withdrawn her from the Errors wherein the Empress *Justine* had engaged her in her Infancy, and had made her partake not only of his Throne, but also of his Piety. She dyed in the flower of her Age, and left but one Daughter named *Placidia*, who was afterwards so famous for her Beauty, for her



her Wit, for the extraordinary Adventures which  
 An 390. hapned to her, and the Testimonies she gave of  
 her Faith, and of her Zeal for Religion.

Her Obsequies were very magnificent. *Aradius*  
 a little while after caused a Pillar to be erected in  
 the great place of *Constantinople* near the Church  
 whereon he ordered to be fixed the Statue of  
*Theodosius* in silver, with Inscriptions and Represen-  
 tations of his last Victories, with an intention that  
 this work might be an eternal Monument both of  
 the glory of the Father, and the piety of the Son.

XIX. At last *Theodosius* resolved upon returning  
 into the East, and upon going to enjoy himself  
 amongst his own People, the satisfactions of that  
 Peace which he had established through the whole  
 Empire. He had passed near three years in *Italy*,  
 and had employed them in setting those Provinces  
 in order, and instructing the young *Valentinian*,  
 whom he loved as his own Son. Observing the  
 credit that *Symmachus* enjoyed in the Senate, he had  
 honoured him with the dignity of Consul, and  
 had forgot nothing which might oblige that  
 factious Man, who gave motion to Affairs, and  
 was at the head of a Party. He had made at the  
 same time very severe Edicts against the Adora-  
 tion of false Gods, shewing by this conduct that  
 he did no injury to the merit of those persons  
 whose Religion he condemned. After that he  
 departed, leaving the Western Empire in peace,  
 and the Emperor well instructed in the Art of  
 reigning.

XX. He had already made part of his Army  
 march, in order to chastise, as they passed, some  
*Barbarians* who were got together to disturb the

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repose of the People. They had been drawn into the Marshes of *Macedonia* by some of those Deferrers of whom we have spoken, who were retired there, and had preserved themselves from the punishment which their Treason had merited. It was at first rather a Troop of Robbers, than a regulated Militia: but the number of them being increased by the defeat of *Maximus's* Army, they observed some order, and made an irruption into *Thessaly* and *Macedon*. Their licentiousness augmented by the little resistance which they found, and in a little time they ravaged the whole Country. As soon as they had learnt that the Emperor was returning with his Army, they retired into Forests that were encompassed with Lakes, and came out no more in a Body: they contented themselves to make incursions during night, and hid themselves with their Booty as soon as day appeared. One would have said, that they were rather *Spirits* than Men, and every one complained of their robbing, without being able to force them in their Retreat.

An. 397.

Zor. l. 4.

*Theodosius* being arrived at *Thessalonica*, detached a Party of his Infantry to advance towards the Marshes, under the conduct of *Timasius*, and advanced himself a little after: He gave Orders for the Enemy to be searcht for; and when they were tedious in coming to relate the News, he went out of his Camp without any noise, attended by five Officers well mounted, in order to go and observe those places where they might be concealed. He happily discovered what he had a mind to know; for being entred into a little Country-house, to refresh himself after a long course, he there perceived a Man, whose wild aspect, and confused behavior, gave him some sus-

Zor. l. 4.

pition.

An. 391.

piton. He secretly enquired who he was, and from whence he came: but being unable to learn any thing in particular of this unknown, he commanded his People to seize upon him. He would examine him himself; but he could obtain no answer, neither by threats, nor civility, till such time as being pressed by the torments they made him undergo, he confessed that he was the Spy of these *Barbarians*; that he was us'd to run over the Country all day, to give them notice of the Booty they might fetch on in the night, particularly that he had orders to inform them of the passage of the Emperor, and the march of his Army. Then he declared the Number, the Forces, and the Retreat of these *Barbarians*.

Zor. l. 4.

The Emperor departed immediately to go and joyn his Camp, marched the next day with certain Troops, and made this body of *Barbarians* to be so vigorously attacked, that in spite of the difficulty of places, and the resistance which they made, he forced them in their Marshes. There was a great number of them killed; some were taken, and punished for examples; the rest were pursued from morning to night. *Timasius* seeing the Soldiers fatigued, pray'd the Emperor to take a little rest, and to afford some to those who attended him. They founded a retreat, they encamped in an adjacent plain; every one was permitted to rejoice, as after a victory; and in the confidence they were, they were not extremely mindful of the guard and discipline of the Camp.

In the mean time the *Barbarians* being rallied, and having advice by some of their own men, who had saved themselves from the Camp, of the condition the Troops were in, came by favour of the night, and made a great ravage, before they were discerned.

discerned. At length, they who were least sleepy having alarmed all sides, every one put himself in a posture of defence. They run to the Tent of the Emperour, who was risen at the first noise he had heard. There was a fight in the very Camp, whose success had been uncertain, if this Prince had not encouraged his men by his own example; and if *Praxas*, one of his Lieutenant Generals, who was not far off, had not happily arrived with some Squadrons of Horse, which completed the Enemy's flight.

An. 391.

*Theodosius* had resolved to go in person to pursue them, in order to deliver his people from the inconveniencies they received from them. But *Praxas* represented to him, That they were not Enemies worthy to stop a great Emperour; That he should reserve himself for considerable expeditions, and leave to one of his Lieutenants the care of terminating an affair, where there was some fatigue to undergo, and no reputation to acquire. He took upon himself this commission, and discharged it so faithfully, that he shut up those *Barbarians* in their Forests, and made so great a slaughter of them, that there was not a single man escaped.

The Emperour in the mean time continued his journey. All the people went to meet him with an extraordinary affection, and every entrance that he made into Cities was a Triumph. He arrived at *Constantinople* the ninth day of *November*, more glorious by the marks of love which he received of his Subjects, than by the victories he had obtained over his Enemies. His Son *Augustinus* came to receive him, and all the Bodies of the Empire testified to him with an emulation the joy which they entertained for his happy return.

XXI. His



An. 391.

Leg. 20. de  
Heres. Cod.  
Theod.

XXI. His first applications were to return thanks to God for all the prosperities of his Reign, to visit the magnificent Church he had built in honour of St. *John Baptist*, and to get conveyed thither from a Town near *Calcedon* the reliicks of the same Saint, with abundance of Solemnity. He informed himself of the posture of the Church affairs; and having learnt that *Ennomius* had held assemblies in the City, and published some of his errors, he made him to be expelled *Constantinople*. He ordered likewise the expulsion of all Hereticks out of the neighbouring Cities, in order to take away from them all opportunities of enlarging their Sects, and corrupting the People by their infectious conversation.

After having thus regulated what concerned Religion, he applied himself to know the necessities of the State, and to ease the Provinces which had been burdened; being willing to remit in Peace, those tributes which the sole necessity of War had obliged him to impose. Above all, he put a stop to some Cabals which had been formed in his Court, as well by the intrigues of *Ruffin*, as by the jealousies which had been conceived against this Favourite.

XXII. *Ruffin* was a *Gaul*, of the Province of *Aquitain*, of a mean condition, but of an elevated Spirit, easie, insinuating, polite, fit to divert a Prince, and even capable to serve him. He came to the Court of *Constantinople*: He procured there friends and protectors; he was known to *Theodosius*, he pleased him. He managed so well these beginnings of fortune, that he came in a little time to considerable employments. The Empe-

our gave him the charge of Great Master of his Palace, made him enter into all his Councils, honoured him with his friendship, and his confidence; and in a word, made him Consul with his Son *Arcadius*.

Am. 391.

Zor. ib.

Ambros.

Epist. 53.

Claud. l. i.

con. Ruffin.

This Man maintained himself as he was advanced, rather by his ingenuity than by his virtue; his ambition encreased with his fortune. He sought to enrich himself by the spoils of those whom he oppressed by his Calumnies. To have an extraordinary merit, and to be able to dispute with him the rank he held, was sufficient to be his enemy. Nevertheless as he fear'd to lose the affection of the Prince, if he did not preserve his form, he appeared modest and disinterested. He covered his evil counsels with pretexts of Justice, or Policy, and knew so well how to improve his good qualities, and conceal his bad ones, that the Emperour, as discerning, and jealous as he was of his Authority, was very often deceived, and governed, without perceiving it.

XXIII. The principal Lords of the Court could not observe the elevation of this Favourite without envy. *Timasius* and *Promotus*, who came from commanding the Army, and rendering important services, had pretended to be preferred before him on occasions. *Tatian*, who had governed all the East, in the absence of *Theodosius*, could not submit to see above him a new Minister, who had nothing to recommend him, but the good fortune of pleasing the Prince. *Proculus*, the Son of *Tatian*, Governour of *Constantinople*, a young man, bold and daring, opposed *Ruffin* upon every occasion. They conspired together against him, and resolved to ruine him. *Ruffin* being informed of

An. 392.

all their designs, prepossessed the Spirit of the Emperour, and represented to him, "That the favours which he continually received from his Majesty, made him odious to all the Court. "That, what care soever he took to stop, by his moderation, the murmurings of his Rivals, there arose every day factions and cabals against him. "That he should infallibly succumb, if the friends which raised him, did not support him; That he confessed his little merit, and that he was otherwise esteemed himself than by the goodness of his Majesty entertained for him, and the acknowledgments he should always retain thereof.

Z. 7. l. 4.

XXIV. After having engaged the Emperour to protect him, he was not only cautious of surprizing but also took care to destroy his enemies. The hatreds, which had been hitherto concealed, began to break out a little after; for being in Council with *Promotus*, there happened divers contentions between them. The Emperour going out, the disputes were renewed; both one and the other would maintain his advice; they grew hot insensibly. *Ruffin* being come to offensive words, *Promotus* fell into a passion, and gave him a box on the ear. The noise of this action was soon dispersed throughout the Palace. Every one judged thereof according to the engagement he had to either, but the Emperour, to whom *Ruffin* went immediately to offer his complaints, was extremely displeased. He protested openly, That he was weary of enduring those divisions and intrigues, and those were the Authors of them: That he would teach them how to live in peace, and to consider the persons whom they affected; and that if those jealousies which were entertained against *Ruffin*, did not cease, he would



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alt him so much above his Rivals, that they should be obliged to honour him, and perhaps to obey him.

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XXV. This Prince, who spoke as a Master, and who knew how to make himself feared when it was necessary, pronounced these words with so much heat, that no body durst mutter any longer.

He chased *Promotus* from his Court, and gave *Ruffin* almost at the same time the charge of *Præfectus Prætorio*. The new dignity of this favourite, and the protection of the Emperor, whereof he was assured, afforded him a more easy opportunity of revenging himself upon his Enemies. *Promotus* did not long survive this disgrace; for having received orders to go and joyn the Army, and to march against the *Bastarnes*, who pillaged *Thrace*, he was slain in an Ambuscade by a Party of these Barbarians: many accused *Ruffin* of this treachery.

The death of *Procnius* was no less fatal. This Minister made him to be accused of several crimes, corrupted the Judges which had been appointed him, obliged them under hand to condemn him to death, and so ordered his matters that the pardon, which *Theodosius* sent him, did not arrive till after the Execution, he got over *Tatian* in domestick concerns; and *Timasius*, had been no less unhappy, if he had not re-procured the friendship of this Favourite, and rendered himself the accomplice of his crimes. Such was the conduct of *Ruffin*, who re-passed upon the goodness and confidence of his Master, and who five years after, being no longer retained by the fear of *Theodosius*, and living under weak and unqualified Emperors, was one of the principal causes of the desolation of the Empire, by his unlimited Pride and Ambition.

Zoz. l. 4.

Ambros. ib.



An. 392.

Ambr. in  
orat. fun.  
de obitu  
Val.

XXVI. Things were in this posture at the Court of *Constantinople*, when the news of the treason of *Arbogastes*, and the death of *Valentinian* arrived. Whatsoever cares *Theodosius* had taken to leave this Prince a peaceable and well governed Empire, scarce was he returned into the East, but there arose new Cabals in *Gaul*. The Pagan Senators once more made a solemn deputation, to request the re-establishment of their Temples, and the free exercise of their Religion. The affair was examined in Council, and notwithstanding all the advices tended to the granting of their desires, *Valentinian* opposed it, and sent away the Deputies of the Senate with a refusal, that left them no further expectation.

Leg. 4. de  
Apost. cod.  
Theod.

XXVII. Several, who had turned Christian by policy, sought at that time how to renounce their Religion without punishment. *Theodosius* had endeavoured to remedy this disorder while he was in the West: for having learnt that several Persons of Quality, to agree with the time, and to arrive at employments, had quitted the worship of the Gods, and received Baptism, he judged that those could not be fixed in the Faith, who had engaged themselves therein by such weak and humane motives. To deprive them of the Liberty of changing their Religion, he set out a very severe Law against Apostates. He declared them incapable of testifying publicly, unqualified to succeed, unworthy to be received into the society of good men, dispossessed of the right of Voting, bereft of all Stations, Nobility or Dignity, without ever being able to pretend to be re-established, commanding that they who had profaned the

cred Mysterys, should be lookt upon not only as men of unferled Principles, but also as ruined Persons, and that they should be abandoned of men, since they had forsaken God. An. 392.  
Leg. 5. ib.

XXVIII. Those, who found themselves tied to a belief, which they had embraced but for a time, applied themselves to think upon making an Emperor, under whom they might desert their Religion without being deprived of their Dignities. At the same time *Valentinian* having been advised, that there was at *Rome* a Comedian Woman of an excellent beauty, who debauched all the Youth, he commanded her to be taken out of the City, and brought to Court: He that was commissioned to execute this order, was easily corrupted with Money, and returned without discharging his trust. The Prince immediately dispatched men of more fidelity, who carried off this Curtezan, and conducted her as far as *Gaul*, where he was. He retained her there some time; but he would not see her, for fear of falling into an irregularity, for which he corrected others. Those, whom he deprived of an occasion of debauchery, and to whom he gave an example of continence, were exasperated at both, and entred into a League against him, because he crossed their Passions, and they could not upbraid him with the same. Ambros.  
Orat. fun.  
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XXIX. *Flavian Præfectus Prætorio*, a man of capacity and great experience in affairs, but much addicted to Pagan Superstitions, entertained underhand these Cabals. He was to be feared as well by the credit he had obtained, and the studied predictions which he published amongst the men of the Party, as by the secret connexions he

An. 392.

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*Paulin. in  
vit. Ambr.*

*Zoz. l. 4.  
Suidas. ver.  
Arb.*

*Paulin. in  
vit. Ambr.*

XXX. This *Arbogastes* was a French Captain who had inrolled himself very young in the service of the Romans. He followed *Gratian* in his German Wars, and acquired therein much reputation. After the death of this Prince, he refused to acknowledge *Maximus*, and in the general revolt almost of the Officers of the Army, he kept firm for the Party of *Valentinian*. He arrived at all the employments which his fidelity deserved, joined to the great opinion which was entertained of his courage and his conduct. He won the affection of the Soldiers, who of their own accord invested him with the command of the Army, without the Court's daring to oppose it. After the defeat of *Maximus* where he was the principal cause, he was sent into *Gaul*, to possess himself thereof, and to command there. He re-established the affairs of the Empire in that Country, and obtained several Battels against the *Barbarians*, and even against those of his own Nation, whom he constrained to sue for Peace.

These great Services rendered him so fierce, and so absolute, that he took of himself the entire administration of the Wars of the Empire. The Army blindly pursued his Wills: for besides that he was valiant, successful in all his undertakings, and very expert in the Art of War, he was an Enemy to Luxury, received no gratuity from the Emperor, but to have the satisfaction of obliging the Soldiers with it, dividing amongst them all the Spoils after his Victories, reserving to himself only the

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An. 392.

*Theodosius*, who was sensible of his great qualities, and who had designed to have taken him along with him, judged it more convenient to leave him in the West, as a Man of known fidelity, who by his credit and his example might retain the Court of *Valentinian* in its duty, and be assistant with his counsels to this young Emperor, who had very good intentions, but not experience enough in business. *Arbogastes* imagined then that his great Services could not be sufficiently acknowledged, and became so much the more insolent, as he esteemed himself more necessary. He disposed of the employments of the Army; he regulated the Troops, and gave them new forms of Discipline: he made War or Peace, according to his fancy, despising or reforming the Orders of the Emperor, and enduring no other bounds of his power, than those of his Pride and his Ambition.

*Valentinian* being come into *Gaul*, he could not suffer *Arbogastes* to command there as Sovereign: he attempted to humble him without proceeding to his ruine, and, if it was possible, his displeasure. To that end he gave out important Orders without his participation; he was oftentimes of an opinion contrary to his; sometimes he rejected his counsels, or preferred those of other Ministers, hoping thereby to accustom insensibly to a dependance a Man, who would have been very agreeable to him, if he had not affected to be his equal. *Arbogastes*, who did not love to be contradicted, and would not lose an inch of that Authority which he had been suffered to take, secretly



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*Soz. c. 22.*

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Paulin. in  
vita Ambr.

Zoz. l. 4.  
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confederated himself with all the Malecontents, and resolved to undertake all things, if he was pushed. In the mean time he secured the Officers of the Army, and opposed himself to the Will of the Emperor, when he did not fall into his opinion.

About the same time it was reported that an Army of *Barbarians* advanced towards the Frontiers of *Italy*. *Valentinian*, who was then at *Vienne* in *Gaul*, disposed himself to pass the *Alps*, and to march against the Enemy at the head of his Troops. But before he engaged himself in this War, he would look to his salvation, by receiving Baptism; and to his repose, by disgracing *Arbogastes*, and taking from him the command of the Army.

*Ambros. ep.*  
34. ad  
*Theod.*

*Ambros. orat.*  
in fun.  
*Valen.*

XXXI. As for Baptism, altho' there were in *Gaul* Bishops of a remarkable Piety, he desired to receive it from the hand of *St. Ambrose*, whom he called his Father and his Master. As he was going to send one of his Officers to him, he learnt that the holy Prelat was coming to find him, for which he testified an extreme joy. Upon the first noise of the Enemy's march, the Governors and Magistrates of those Cities, which lay most exposed, had addressed themselves to this Archbishop, and entreated him to go and remonstrate to the Emperor the danger wherein *Italy* was, if it was not speedily relieved. He had accepted the deputation, judging it necessary for the repose and safety of his Country. He prepared himself to depart the next day, when News was received at *Milan*, that the Prince hastened his Journey, that his Road was marked, that his Equipage was already well advanced, and that Orders were given out on

all

all fides for the entertainment of the Court, and the quartering of the Soldiers. The Archbishop, who out of charity was never wanting in things that were necessary, and out of modesty never undertook superfluous ones, supposed himself then to be discharged of his Commission, and waited for the Emperor at *Milan*, when the Emperor attended him at *Vienne*.

XXXII. In the mean time *Valentinian* every day more jealous of his Authority, and more offended at the insupportable arrogance of *Arbogastes*, attempted to ruine him. He took his opportunity; and as he was one day upon his Throne, seeing him approach, and regarding him with indignation, he presented him with a Biller, wherein he ordered him to leave his Court, and to lay down the command of his Armies. *Arbogastes* took the Note in his hand. After having perused it, he tore it in his presence, and turning insolently towards him, *As you did not give me this Command*, said he to him, *you shall not dispossess me of it.* *Valentinian* consulting nothing but his Courage and Resentment, seized upon the Sword of one of his Guards to kill *Arbogastes*. But the Guard retained him, and he was obliged to say every where, *That this Prince being vexed that he could not do what he would, had a design to kill himself.* *Arbogastes* after that, well foresaw that there was no more security for him, and that it was necessary to compleat the Crime for fear of being prevented. Under a pretence that some powerful Men had resolved to destroy him, he assembled his Friends; he gained the Eunuchs of his Chamber, and placed Soldiers, who were at his disposal, even about the Palace.

An. 392.

Sulpit.

Alex. apud

Greg. Tbu-

ron. Philo-

storg. l. 11.

XXXIII. The Emperor sent his Orders to the Camp; they made no account of them: he spoke himself to the chief Officers; they durst not obey him: and finding himself almost abandoned on a sudden, and shut up in his own Palace, he dispatched immediately one of his Secretaries to *Theodosius*, to request of him some relief. He even deliberated some time whether he should once more seek refuge in the Court of *Constantinople*: but he imagined that *St. Ambrose* could deliver him from the unhappy state he was in. He wrote to him forthwith, to entreat him to come with expedition to baptize him, and to terminate his differences with *Arbogastes* by some accommodation. The Saint, who had a great Ascendant over them both, departed without stay, being resolved to reconcile them, to answer for the sincerity of their intentions, to give himself for an hostage to both, or to stick close to the Emperor, and defend him by his wishes and prayers, if *Arbogastes* should be inflexible.

Ambro. orat.

in fan.

Valens.

Zoz. l. 4.

Philostorg.

l. 11.

XXXIV. He had already cross'd the *Alps*, when he learnt with an incredible grief the death of *Valentinian*. Historians have differently reported concerning the tragical end of this Emperor. Some relate, that diverting himself after dinner upon the banks of the *Rhine*, *Arbogastes* surprized him, and slew him. Others have supposed, that after he had caused him to be strangled by Assassins, he made him to be hanged to a Tree with his own Handkerchief, in order to make it credible that he had killed himself. That which bears most probability is, that he was betrayed by the Eunuchs of the Palace, at the solicitation of *Arbogastes*, and that

Socrat. l. 5.

c. 24.

Sozom. l. 7.

c. 20.

that he was found strangled in his Bed, upon *Saturday* night the 15<sup>th</sup> of *May*, being *Whitsun-Eve*. *St. Ambrose* returned to *Milan*, continuing to lament the misfortune of this Prince, whom he had tenderly loved, and whose extraordinary merit he was acquainted with. An. 392. Epiph. l. v. de Mens. 6<sup>o</sup> pond. Idat.


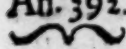
For scarce had he attained the age of five and twenty years, but he enjoyed already all the qualities which might make a great Emperor. His Stature, his Air, his Vigor, his Dexterity in all kind of Exercises, and a certain natural grace which accompanied all his Actions, easily distinguished him from all his Courtiers. He had a lively and penetrating wit, and his opinions in Council were so just and weighty, that as young as he was, one would have said that he was consummate in business. He was chaste, liberal, obliging, constant in adversity, and moderate in good fortune. Altho' he found his Exchequer exhausted by the misfortune of Civil Wars, he would never charge the People, and replied to those who advised him to create new Taxes, *That it was better to consider how to suppress the old ones.* Socr. l. 7. c. 22. Ambr. in fun. Valent.

Some Persons of Quality were accused of entertaining some design to deprive him of the Empire. He made so little account of these Accusations, which are for the most part very nice, that no Body under his Reign feared either Envy, or Calumnies. He had so much consideration for his Sisters, that he deferred his Marriage; for fear the love he should have for his Wife, might diminish that he had for them; and when he felt himself assaulted by Murderers, he expressed nothing more than this, *what will become of my poor Sisters?* This tenderness however was not of capacity to corrupt his judgment. These Princesses had

*Ambr. ib.*

*Ambr. ib.*



 had the enjoyment of some ground, which the  
 An. 392. Empress *Justine* their Mother had left them, under  
 another Title than that of the propriety. Those  
 whom she had deprived of it, pretended to re-enter  
 in their Rights, and confiding in the justice of  
 the Emperor, referred the arbitration of this difference  
 to himself. He sent back the Cause to  
 the ordinary Judges; but in private he engaged  
 the Princesses to restore generously the Land  
 which was in dispute.

Never was Prince more easie-tempered, and  
 more ready to correct his faults. It was immediately  
 observed that he indulged himself too  
 much with Sights, and all the diversions of the  
*Circus*. He abstained from thence, and scarce  
 permitted those publick Sports at the solemn Birth-  
 days of Emperors, and the great rejoycings of the  
 Empire; some laid to his charge, that the passion  
 he had for hunting diverted him from the care of  
 business: he presently killed all the Beasts which  
 he had nourished in his Park, and applied himself  
 entirely to the government of the State by him-  
 self. His Rivals had no more to say upon his con-  
 duct, but that he sometimes advanced the hour of  
 his repast out of intemperance. He made use of  
 this advice, and became so abstemious, that he fasted  
 very often, and eat but little, even in those magni-  
 ficent Entertainments which he provided for his  
 Courtiers.

He lost no opportunity of demonstrating his  
 piety towards God, and his Zeal for the true Re-  
 ligion, whether against Hereticks or Pagans. He  
 pursued in every thing the advice and instructions  
 of St. *Ambrose*, honoring and loving him with as  
 much fervency as he had formerly persecuted and  
 abhorred him. Wherein he shewed, that his past  
 faults

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faults proceeded from the impressions which were given him, and not from his own nature. He reigned about Seventeen years, and was worthy of a more happy life and death.

Those, who were guilty of his death, spread abroad that he had killed himself, and that being vexed at the resistance which was made to his unjust and extravagant passions and designs, he had rather chose to cease to live, than to be Emperor, and not Master of his actions. They let his body be taken up, and would do nothing that might procure them the public hatred.

XXXV. In the mean time it was necessary to look after the Empire. *Arbogastes*, by an affected moderation, refused this honor which no body had disputed with him: and whether he did not really love stateliness, and was contented to govern the Empire without being Emperor; or whether he feared to pass openly for the Murderer of *Valentinian*, if he came to succeed him; or else thought the *Romans* would not voluntarily obey a *French-man*, nor the Christians a *Pagan*; he cast his eyes upon one of his friends named *Eugenius*, and resolved to invest him with the name and title of a dignity, whereof he would reserve to himself the whole power.

*Eugenius* was a man of a low birth, who after having professed Rhetorick with some reputation, forsook the Schools, and fixed himself to the attendance of the Court. *Ricomar*, General of the Armies of *Gratian*, had received him into his family as Secretary, and going for *Constantinople*, had recommended him to *Arbogastes*, as a man of parts and understanding, who might be serviceable to him. *Arbogastes* then pitcht upon him as one of his

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Ambr. ep.

34.

Ruffin. l. 2.

c. 31.

Soz. l. 7.

c. 22.

Soz. l. 4.

**An. 392.** his creatures, who being unable to pretend to the Throne, or to maintain himself therein without his assistance, would be absolutely his, by acknowledgment and necessity.

**Sozom. l. 7. c. 22.** *Flavian*, in the name of the *Pagans*, consented to this election, because he hoped that under so infirm an Emperour, he should have a greater share in the government; and that besides he knew *Eugenius*, notwithstanding his being a Christian, had a great inclination for Paganism. They had much ado to perswade this fearful man, who loved his repose, to accept of the Empire: but the one promised him so much assistance, the others foretold him so much success, that he at length took the Purple and the Diadem, and suffered himself to be Proclaimed Emperour.

**XXXVI.** The news of the death of *Valentinian* extremely surprised the Court of *Constantinople*. **Ambr. Ep. 34.** *Theodosius* was very sensibly concerned at it. He wrote immediately to the afflicted Princesses, Letters of consolation upon the loss of their Brother, and prayed *St. Ambrose* to take care of his Burial, and Funeral Rites. This Prelate, who had already prepared a Stately Monument of *Porphyry*, made it to be erected as soon as he had received orders, and solemnly performed the obsequies of this Pious Emperour, whose Funeral Elogy he made himself. He spoke of him as of a perfect believer, altho he was but *Catheumen*. He assured that he had not been wanting to Baptism, altho Baptism was wanting to him: That his Faith and good will had purified him, and that one ought to impute to him a grace, which he had zealously desired, and instantly demanded, and to which he was disposed by a contritious confession of his Faith, in openly refusing the *Pagans*.

**Ambros. orat. in fun. Valent.**



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the re-establishment of their Altars. He declared notwithstanding that he would not pass one day without remembering him in his Sermons and Offerings, nor one night without praying for him.

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All the People being touched with the vertue and misfortunes of this Prince, renewed the affection and esteem which they had entertained for him. The Princesses, to whom the Archbishop directed part of his discourse, dissolved into tears. They had spent above two months in lamenting and praying in a Chappel, where had been deposited the body of their Brother. They could not be hindred from entring often, and they always came out almost dead. They would assist at his Funeral, and afterwards forsook the World, where they found nothing more agreeable, to go and bewail all the residue of their lives the loss they had sustained, and to seek in God alone those comforts which they could not expect from men.

XXXVII. Whilst these funeral duties were performed to the memory of *Valentinian*, *Eugenius* assisted with the Counsels of *Arbogastes* and *Flavian*, considered how to confirm himself in his new dignity. He advanced on a sudden towards the *Rhine* with his Army, and made such advantageous Proposals to the Kings of the *French* and *Germans*, that they signed a Treaty of Peace, and renewed their ancient alliances with the Empire. *Arbogastes* reconciled himself with those Princes, whom he had treated with too much haughtiness in the past wars.

*Sulp. Alex.*  
*apud Greg.*  
*Theodor. l. 1.*  
*2. bestor.*

It is reported, that in an entertainment which he made for them, they asked him if he was acquainted with the Bishop *Ambrose*, and having learnt that he had had the honour to be in the number

*Paulin. in*  
*vii. Ambro.*



*An. 392* number of his Friends, and to eat often at his Table, they cryed out, that it was no wonder if he had obtained so many Victories, since he was beloved of a man, that could even stop the course of the Sun, if he would. This alliance with two Nations so inured to war, retained all the other *Barbarians*, and fixed the Empire in safety.

XXXVIII. Then *Eugenius* sent Ambassadors to *Theodosius*, to know if he would acknowledge him for Colleague. *Ruffin* the *Athenian* chief of the Embassy, had orders to make no mention of *Arbogastes*. He was contented to send some Priests, in order to justify him of the murder he was charged with. *Theodosius* quietly gave audience to the proposal of the Ambassador, and when he saw no Letter from *Arbogastes*, and that they even affected to speak nothing of him, he complained of him, and accused him of the death of *Valentinian*. Then the Priests took up the discourse, and would evidence to him that he was innocent of the fact; but their premeditated speeches did but encrease the suspicions, which were already conceived of his Treason.

Altho this Emperor had reason to repulse the Deputies of a Murderer, and a Tyrant; yet he spoke to them with abundance of Moderation. He retained them some time, that he might deliberate at leisure concerning the Party he was to take. After which judging that they designed to amuse him by Propositions of Peace, and that their was neither honour, nor safety in treating with Traytors, he sent back these Ambassadors loaded with magnificent Presents, without giving them any positive answer.

XXXIX. In the mean time, *Eugenius* after having regulated the affairs of the State, consented to ruine those of Religion. It was agreed upon in his Council, that *Flavian* and *Arbogastes* should demand the re establishment of Sacrifices, and the Altar of Victory; and that after some difficulty they should obtain what they desir'd, so that the Pagans might be satisfied, and the Christians not offended. Then they presented their Request. *Eugenius* immediately pretended to be unwilling to attempt any thing against the Laws of his Predecessors, and his own proper conscience; but at length he consented to all they would have him; protesting nevertheless that it was to his friends, and not to their Gods, that he allowed this favour; and that if he permitted them to revive this Altar, and to re-establish these Sacrifices, it was not in respect to their Idols, which he laugh'd at, but to gratifie persons of merit, to whom he could refuse nothing. He thought to have found a plausible medium, and spared by these vain distinctions, a Religion, to which he was not very firm, and which notwithstanding it was not suitable for him to abandon.

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Paulin. in  
vit. Ambro.

XL. St. *Ambrose* having learnt a little after that he was coming in haste to *Milan*, would not attend him there, not through any fear that he conceived of his power, but for the horror he had of his Sacrileges. He went to *Bologne*, in order to assist at the Translation of the Relicks of St. *Agricole* the Martyr, to which he had been entreated to come. He advanced as far as *Faenza*, where he sojourn'd for some days. From thence he descended into *Heiraria*, to satisfy the urgent desires of the Inhabitants

Ann. 897.

habitants of *Florence*, who had a mind to hear him preach, and edifie by his doctrine. The holy Arch-bishop was not ignorant of the designs of *Eugenius*, and what would be the effect of the deliberations of his Council. *Eugenius* on his side did not question but that the Arch-bishop would have the courage to oppose his impiety, or at least to upbraid him with it. Therefore as soon as he was Master of the Empire, he wrote to him very obliging Letters, to seek his friendship, with a design to take advantage of it in the end. The Saint made him no precise answer, for fear of authorizing his usurpation by civilities, which might be ill interpreted. He did not cease, notwithstanding to write to him in favour of some unhappy persons, who had had recourse to him; demonstrating by this prudent conduct, that he could not flatter against his honour and his conscience; and that he did not refuse to honour and entreat those, whom the Providence of God had invested with a Sovereign Power.

But as soon as he had advice that this Emperour was arrived at *Milan*, he wrote a Letter to him full of zeal and piety, wherein, without meddling with his election, or the affairs of the State, which he left to *Theodosius* to disentangle, he said to him, amongst other things; *It is the fear of God, which I take as much as I can for the rule of my actions, that has obliged me, to go out of Milan. I have been accustomed, Sir, to have regard to none but Jesus Christ, and to make more account of his grace, than of the favour of Men. None ought to be offended that I prefer the glory of God before his. In this confidence I take the liberty of telling the Grandees of the World what I think. I have not flattered the other Emperours, neither will I flatter you. I apprehend that you have granted the Pa-*

gans what your Predecessors had constantly refused them.

Altho the power of Emperours is great, consider that God is still greater; that he sees the bottom of your heart, and pierces into the inmost recesses of your conscience. You cannot suffer your self to be abused, and yet

An. 392.

And Paulin. in vita Ambro.

you would hide from God, under humane decorums, the injury you do him. Have you made no reflexion upon it? Should not you have more constancy to refuse the Gentiles a Sacrilege, than they had to demand it? Bestow upon them as many other favours as you please, I am not jealous of their fortune. I don't play the censurer of your bounties, but I am the interpreter of your Faith. Can you have the courage to present your offerings to Jesus Christ? Few persons will stop at appearances; every one will judge of your intentions. You will be accountable for all the Sacrileges which are done, and it is not your fault that all the world doth not commit them. If you are Emperor, shew it by the submission you owe to God and his Church. At last, after having testified that he entertains for him all the respect that is due to persons of his rank, he adds these words: But, Sir, as it is just that I honour you, it is also just that you honour him, whom you would have believed to be the Author of your Empire.

XLI. Eugenius, so far from being affected with this Letter, flattered himself with the great hopes which Flavian inspire him with, in relation to his Gods, of an infallible protection. He even disposed himself to War, upon the prediction of a celebrated Victory, which was to conquer him an Empire, and destroy the Christian Religion. Theodosius was more concerned to hear that Rome had opened the Temples of the Gods, and that



An. 392.

Leg. 12. de  
Pag. cod.  
Theod.

those Sacrifices which he had so happily put down, smoked on all sides, than to see her under the power of an Usurper.

He set forth a new Edict through the whole East, whereby he prohibited all his Subjects to sacrifice Victims, to consult the entrails of Beasts, to offer Incense to insensible figures, and to do any other exercise of Idolatry, under the penalty of being treated as guilty of High Treason; declaring those places, where should be offered Incense to the Gods, to be confiscated; and condemning to a considerable Fine those Magistrates, who did not exactly pursue the execution of this Ordinance.

Leg. 21. de  
Hæret. cod.  
Theod.

He made yet another Law against Hereticks, and forbid them to make Ordinations, and to hold Assemblies, condemning the Clerks and Bishops of each Sect, that should act contrary to this Ordinance, to the Mulct of ten Livres of Gold for the first time. By these actions he drew upon him the assistance of Heaven, whilst *Engenius* trusted in the force of Men.

Zog. l. 4.

XLII. After which he applied himself entirely to the preparations of the War. He declared his Son *Honorius* Emperour, and resolved to leave him at *Constantinople* with *Arcadius*, to the end that their presence might keep up the tranquillity of the East, whilst he went in person to withstand his enemies. Troops were levied in the Provinces. *Ricomar*, one of the most ancient Generals, was to have had the command of them, but he died before the expedition. *Ruffin* had orders to continue near the young Princes, to assist them with his Counsels. All the General Officers were named, and departed in order to render themselves

selves at the head of those Bodies which they commanded.

An 391.

XLIII. *Theodosius* was yet at *Constantinople*, and prepared himself to War by his Fasts, his Prayers, and frequent visitings of the Churches. He had sent to the solitary *John*, who formerly foretold him the defeat of *Maximus*, to consult him upon the event of this War. The holy Man replied, *That this Enterprize should be more difficult than the former; That the Battel should be a bloody one; That Theodosius should in the end obtain a famous Victory, but that he should dye a little after in the midst of his Glory, and his Triumphs.* The Emperor had received this news, the first with a great deal of joy, the other with abundance of courage.

*Socr. l. 7.*

*c. 22.*

*Euzgr. vit.*

*SS. PP. c. 1.*

*Theodoret.*

*l. 5. c. 24.*

XLIV. Instead of imposing new Taxes to supply the charges of this War, as he had done heretofore, he suppressed entirely those which *Tatian* great Master of the Palace had imposed two years before. Thus his Provinces had the joy to see themselves eased, whilst those of the Usurper were oppressed by new and excessive Impositions. He likewise ordered that all the Possessions of the banished Persons which had been confiscated, and reunited to the Imperial Patrimony during the Magistracy of the same *Tatian*, should be restored without any opposition either to the culpable who had been deprived, or to their nearest Relations.

*Aug. de*

*civ. Dei*

*l. 5. c. 26.*

*Leg. 23. cod.*

*Theod. de*

*annon. &*

*trib.*

*Leg. 12. cod.*

*Theod. de*

*pon prescrip.*

XLV. After that, being afraid lest the disorders of the Soldiery should bring upon him the hatred of the People, and the vengeance of God, he resolved to repress the licentiousness of the

Y 3

Troops.

An. 393.

Leg. 3. cod.  
Theod. de  
Sulgum.  
Leg. 18, 19.  
20. de eron.  
mili. annon.  
cod. Theod.  
Leg. 4. me-  
mor. cod.  
Theod.

Troops. He sent Orders to his Generals, to publish in the Camp very expresse Prohibitions to all the Soldiers to exact nothing of their Hosts, nor to ask the price of that sort of Bread which was provided for them, nor to take any other Lodgings than what should be appointed for them by the Harbingers; enjoining all the Officers to punish very severely those who should make the least exaction, or the smallest violence, and particularly recommended to them the care of the repose and substance of the poor Families of the Country, as if it was their own Propriety.

Leg. 1.  
Siquis ma-  
ledic. Imper.  
cod. Theod.

XLVI. He was not contented with having given such great testimonies of justice and goodness, he would still do an heroical Act of Christian Generosity, and pardon every Injury, as he had pardoned some years before the sedition of the People of *Antioch*. He made a Rescript to be prepared in these terms: *If any one, against all the Laws of shame and modesty, has attempted to defame our Name, by any Action, or by any Slander, and has been transported so far as to cry down our Government, and our Conduct; We are pleased to remit him from the punishment directed by the Laws, or from any evil treatment: for if it is by an indiscreet Levity that he has spoken against us, we ought to despise him; if it is by Folly, we ought to pity him; if it is by an evil will, we are very willing to pardon him.*

Sozom. l. 7.  
c. 24.

XLVII. After these actions of Clemency and Piety, *Theodosius* departed from *Constantinople*. At seven miles from thence he made some stay, in order to make his Prayer in a Church, which he had built in honour of *St. John Baptist*. After which he continued his Journey till he had joined his  
Troops,

Troops, and advanced towards the Alps. *Theodosius* commanded the Roman Legions which had fought with so much glory in the East against the Barbarians, and in the West against *Maximus Silician*, a Vandal Prince, who had married the Princess *Serena* the Emperor's Niece, conducted the Troops which had been drawn out of the Frontiers since the last Treaties. *Gainas* was at the head of the Goths, who had enrolled themselves in the service of the Empire after the death of King *Athalaric*. After them marched *Sanles* and *Alaric* with a Body of Barbarians that came from the Banks of the Danube to assist in this War. They were followed by some Companies of old Iberian Soldiers, commanded by *Bacurius*, Captain of their Nation, as zealous for the defence of the Christian Religion, as for the service of the Emperor. *Gildon*, Governor of *Africa*, had had Orders to bring a powerful Relief; but he remained armed, without taking any Party, expecting upon whom would fall the lot of Arms, and considering rather how to revolt himself, than to chastise the revolt of *Eugenius*. *Theodosius* encouraged his Army by his presence; and making the great Standard of the Cross to be carried before him, he hoped, with the assistance of Heaven, to terminate successfully this War, wherein was concerned not only the Empire, but also Religion.

Ap. 393.

Ruffin: l. 1.  
c. 10.

Claud. de  
be: Gildon.

Theodor.  
l. 5. c. 24.

Prudent.  
adv. Sym-  
mach. l. 2.

XLVIII. *Eugenius* on his side had assembled a puissant Army, composed of Legions, which had served under *Valentinian*; of a numerous Militia, which *Flavian* had got together in Italy, exciting the Pagans to go to the assistance of their Gods; and of an infinite number of Germans and French, whom *Arbogastes* their Countryman had engaged



to his Party. These three Heads had different Prospects. *Eugenius* lookt after Peace, and thought to be able to reign undisturbed after the gaining of a Battel. *Arbogastes* desired nothing but occasions of acquiring glory, and signalizing himself in Fights. *Flavian* aimed at the re-establishment of the worship of the Gods, and to render himself considerable, in becoming the chief of a Party. They agreed notwithstanding in this Point, that it was necessary to conquer *Theodosius*, and to abolish the Christian Religion. *Eugenius*, according to some Historians, had already renounced it, being vexed at the retreat and liberty of St. *Ambrose*, and still more at the resolution of the Priests of *Milan*, who by order of this Archbishop had treated him as a sacrilegious Person, and would never be persuaded to receive his offerings. Then they left the City, and threatened to exterminate the Ecclesiasticks, and to make of all the Churches in *Milan* Stables for their Horses after the defeat of *Theodosius*.

*Philosforg.*

*Paulin. in  
vit. Ambr.*

*Arbogastes*, who was charged with all the cares of this War, advanced with the whole Army; and for fear of weakning it, by making a division thereof, as *Maximus* had done, he marched towards the *Alps* with all the Forces of the West, being resolved to attend *Theodosius*, and to block up against him the entrance of *Italy*. He placed Troops in the Passes of the *Julian Alps*, the guard of which was committed to *Flavian*: he ordered Forts to be erected upon the Ascents, and encamped in a great Plain along the River *Frigians*, which takes its rise in these Mountains. *Flavian* on his side sacrificed Victims, produced new Oracles, and made the Statues of *Hercules* and those of *Jupiter* the Thunderer, to be carried amongst the

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the Ensigns at the head of the Army. They left *Eugenius* nothing but the Title of Emperor, and the care of enlivening the Troops by his Harangues.

An. 393.  
August. de  
civ. Dei. l.  
5. c. 26.

XLIX. In the mean time *Theodosius* arrived towards the *Alps*, went to observe the Enemy, and fell so briskly upon those who guarded the Passages, that Terror and Disorder being introduced amongst them, he made himself Master of their Trenches, and after some resistance carried those Forts, which *Arbogastes* had supposed not only impregnable, but even inaccessible. *Flavian*, who had promised to stop the Enemy's Army, or to destroy it in the streights of those Mountains, seeing himself forced, chose rather to dye fighting, than to survive his misfortune, and to undergo the shame of having given false hopes, and been deceived in his Predictions. *Theodosius* passed immediately with his whole Army thro' the Road he had opened to himself, and went to present himself in Battel-array before the Enemies.

Zoz. l. 4.  
Sozom. l. 7.  
c. 24.  
Ruffin. l. 1.  
c. 33.

In coming down the *Alps* towards *Aquileia*, one discovers a great Plain, capable of containing several Armies, cut off on one side by the River *Frigidus*, and bounded on the other by Mountains, which are as it were second Rampiers that Nature seems to have made for the security of *Italy*. It was there *Arbogastes* attended *Theodosius* to give him Battel. He learnt, without surprize, that the Passages were forced, and encouraged his Troops, whom so resolute an Action had a little disordered. He extended in the Plain that Army of *Barbarians* which he had brought from *Gaul*, leaving *Eugenius* upon the Ascents with the *Roman* Legions to support them. After having given his Orders throughout,

Zoz. l. 4

out, and represented to the Troops the confidence which he reposed in their Valor, the necessity of conquering, the importance of a Victory, and the Rewards they were to hope for, he put himself at the head of some *French* Batallions, to whom he had given the Vanguard, and expected the Enemy's motion.

An. 394.

Socr. l. 7.

c. 24.

Victor.

Socr. l. 5.

c. 24.

Oros. l. 7.

c. 35.

Zoz. l. 4.

L. *Theodosius* lost no time, and to keep the same order of Battle, he made all his foreign Troops descend into the Plain, with an incredible diligence, and reserved himself with the Body of *Roman* Soldiers upon the adjoining Hills. Whatsoever Ardor was observed in the two Armies, they gave themselves time to be put in order, and to take their advantages, till *Theodosius* gave the Signal to march. *Gainas* was the first at the charge with the *Goths* he commanded. *Arbogastes* opposed to them some *French* Troops, who received them with a great deal of courage and resolution. The Fight grew hot: The two Parties, assisted with the Bodies which were detached to support them, a long time disputed the Victory; but at length the *Goths* were upon the turn, and seeing themselves weakned by the loss of their chief Officers, and their most valiant Soldiers, and being overwhelmed by the number of Troops which fell upon them continually, they began to yield back, and falling one upon another, put the whole Army in disorder.

LL. *Arbogastes* taking advantage of the confusion they were in, pursued them with some Squadrons of Reserve, and made a horrible slaughter. Ten thousand *Goths* were killed upon the place; the rest were almost rendred incapable of fighting.

ing, and all this multitude of *Barbarians* was going to be entirely defeated. *Theodosius*, who from an Eminence discovered the Rout of his Men, and saw his loss inevitable, if *Eugenius* came to fall upon him with his *Roman* Legions, had recourse to God in this extremity, and lifting up his hands to Heaven, he made this Prayer, *Thou knowest, O my God, that I have undertaken this War in the Name of thy Son Jesus Christ: If my intentions are not so pure as I thought they were, let me perish: If thou approvest the justice of my Cause, and the confidence I repose in thee, assist me, and don't permit the Gentiles to say, Where is the God of the Christians?*

He had no sooner finished these words, but he descends into the Plain with the *Romans*, whom he excited by his Piety and his Courage, and advances to snatch from the Enemies a Victory which they thought secure. In the mean time *Bacurius* gave marks of an extraordinary Fidelity and Valor; for after having rallied those that fled, and put himself at their head with his *Iberians*, he sustain'd all the burden of the Fight, keeping off all the Darts of the Enemy, who charged him on all sides, and putting a stop to their Fury, till such time as *Theodosius* was arrived.

LII. Then the fight began afresh. Both parties used their efforts to overcome; the one flushed with their former success, the others encouraged by the presence of the Emperour. They attacked, they opposed without fearing danger, without drawing back of either side. But what attempt soever *Theodosius* could make, he could never gain any advantage over *Arbogastes*, who maintained himself by his valour, by his conduct, and by the number and courage of his Troops. At last the night



night put an end to the Battel, and each was obliged to retire to his Camp. The loss was not considerable on the side of *Eugenius*; and *Theodosius* lost several Officers, and particularly the brave *Bacurius*, who, after having several times dispersed the Enemies, and bore through their Squadrons with Sword in hand, fatigued with the labour of the days work, weakned by the wounds he had received, came at last to fall, in the sight of the Emperor, upon a heap of *Barbarians*, whom he had slain with his own hand.

*Eoz. l. 4.*  
*Ruffin. l. 2.*  
*c. 33.*

LIII. The two Emperors passed the night in a very different manner. *Eugenius* made fires to be kindled through his Camp, distributed rewards to those who had distinguished themselves by some glittering action, and thought that he had won an absolute Victory. He did not so much as doubt, but that *Theodosius* had saved himself by favor of the night with the residue of his Troops. *Theodosius* on his side having regained his Camp upon the Mountain, called together the chief Officers of his Army, and held a Council of war. *Timasius* and *Stilicon* were of opinion to yield to the time, and to provide immediately for the security of a Retreat. They represented, That after the loss which had been sustained, it was necessary to think alone of re-establishing himself; That it was enough to have been conquered; That it was wisdom to take care of being entirely defeated; That it was to sacrifice the remainders of the Army, to expose it to the hazard of a second Battle; and that it would be a piece of rashness to pretend with a small number of disheartened Soldiers, to force an Enemy who confided in their multitude and valor; and who had lately obtained so considerable

*Theodor. l.*  
*5. c. 24.*

derable an advantage; That it were better to inclose himself in the strong places of the Empire, in order to assemble new Troops during the Winter, and to take the Field in the beginning of the Spring, and renew the War with equal Forces.

The Emperor rejected their Counsel, and looking upon them with some indignation, *God forbid,* said he to them, *that the Cross of Jesus Christ, which appears in my Colours, should fly before the Statues of Hercules and Jupiter, which are born amongst the Ensigns of the Enemy!* These words spoken with an holy confidence, inspired his Captains with that resolution he desired. He gave necessary orders for the morrow, and retired into a Chappel near the place where he was encamped, in order to pass the rest of the night in Prayer.

LIV. It is reported that having fallen asleep towards morning, he saw in a Dream two Cavaliers mounted upon two White Horses, who encouraged him to fight, and passed their word for the success of the battle, assuring him that they were *John* the Evangelist and *Philip*, Apostles of Jesus Christ, sent from God to march before his Ensigns, and to shew his Soldiers the way, that would direct them to a Victory. Whether this Dream was only the effect of the imagination of this Prince, still hot with the last engagement, and a new desire of conquering with the assistance of Heaven; or whether it was a sensible testimony of the protection of God upon him: he related, when he awaked, what he had seen, and went out of the Chappel attended by part of his Officers, in order to go and range his Army in battle. At the same time was presented to him a Soldier, who had the same night seen such another Vision.

He

An. 394.

Ib. c. 42.

An. 394.

ibid.

He examined him, made him several times repeat all the circumstances of this Dream, and taking from thence an occasion to encourage his Army, he said to his Captains, *That they could no longer doubt of the success of a battle after this new declaration; That he had resolved upon it against their opinions, but that it was by a secret order from God, who sent them invincible Captains for their Conduct; That all the force of mankind was not to be feared, since Heaven would undertake for them; That they should courageously fight under such puissant Auspices; and that they should regard their Protectors, and not compute their Adversaries.*

This news being dispersed through the whole Army, revived the courage of the Soldiers; and as there is no stronger confidence, than that which is grounded upon Religion, they demanded nothing but a battle. They imagined that they saw all the Heaven armed for their defence, and expected, not a doubtful fight, but an assured Victory. *Theodosius* took advantage of this ardor, and made them forthwith descend into the Plain.

Sozom. l. 7.  
c. 24.

Orof. l. 7.  
c. 35.

LV. Just as he had made an end of distributing his orders, he received Letters from some Officers of the Enemy's Army, which was posted upon the Mountains, who promised to come over to his party, if he would afford them the same honours and the same rank which they held under *Eugenius*. The Emperour having borrowed a Table-book of one that was near him, marked the employments which he destined for them, if they discharged their promises; after which he marched directly to the Enemy, guarding himself with the sign of the Cross, which was the signal of Battel.

LVI. In

LVI. In the mean time *Arbogastes* disposed himself to receive it; and wondring from whence could proceed that assurance to men that had been overcome, and who had but few Troops remaining; he detached Squadrons continually to seize upon the advanced Posts, and ordered his Army so, that he might extend it in the Plain, to hem in the Enemy. *Eugenius* from the top of a little hill, where he had erected his Pavillion, harrangued his Souldiers, and remonstrated to them, That they had but this fatigue to undergo; That it was an easie matter to break that body of despairing men, who rather came with a design to dye, than to fight; That they should see the residue of that Army which they defeated the preceding day, give ground at the first onset, if they would charge it couragiously, and compleat a Victory, which was already far advanced. He promised to all rewards, and gave orders to the Officers to take *Theodosius*, and to bring him alive to him, oppressed with Irons.

LVII. As the Armies were in sight, *Theodosius* Theod. ib. observed that his Vanguard, at the prospect of so great a multitude of Enemies, marched a little too heavily; and fearing lest *Arbogastes* should take advantage of this slowness, he descended from his Horse, advanced alone towards the first Ranks, and crying out with a holy confidence, *Where is the God of Theodosius?* he put new Life into his Troops, and led them on himself to the engagement. Ambr oras. in jan. Theod.

There was immediately discharged on both sides a shower of Darts and Arrows, which eclipsed the Air. They fell in pell-mell a little after.



after. The example of the Prince, and the hope of the assistance of Heaven excited the one; anger and indignation pushed on the others to make extraordinary efforts. The heat was alike in both Parties, and there was as yet no considerable advantage. Things were in this posture in the right Wing where *Theodosius* fought, when they came to advise him that his auxiliary Troops, which composed the left Wing, were vigorously attacked by *Arbogastes*, and that they would be in confusion, if they were not supported.

*Orof. l. 7.  
c. 35.*

*Paul.  
Diac. hist.*

LVIII. *Theodosius* took Horse without delay, and run, accompanied with some of his men, towards these *Barbarians*, in order to put himself at their Head, and to encourage them by his presence. But he discerned a body of the Enemies Horse, who being advanced through the streights of the Mountains, were come into the Plain, and seemed to design to fall upon his Army behind. He stopt, and put himself into a condition of defending himself with those few that attended him. The Count *Arbetion*, who commanded these Adversary Squadrons, was ready to charge upon *Theodosius*, and had infallibly overwhelmed him before he could possibly be relieved: but whether the fierce and majestic aspect of this Prince inspired him with Respect and Veneration for his Person; or whether he was come with a design to follow the best Party, he threw down his Arms, and disposed himself with his Troops near the Emperor, with an intent to stand by him, and to obey him.

LIX. *Theodosius* seeing himself not only delivered from an important danger, but likewise reinforced

with a considerable relief, turned towards his Left Wing, which he encouraged by his presence. But what effort soever he made in this bloody and obstinate fight, where the valor was so great in both Parties, and the number so unequal; the courage and prudence of *Arbogastes*, the vigor and perseverance of his Troops, the helps he found in the multitude of his Soldiers, had unquestionably ruined the Army of *Theodosius*. It insensibly decayed, and was going to be, if not conquered, at least fatigued by the tediousness of the Fight, when Heaven declared itself for this Emperor, by a miracle which the very Pagans could not dissemble.

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LX. There arose from the top of the *Alps*, an impetuous Wind, between East and North, which blowing on a sudden upon the Squadrons of *Engenius*, put them into a strange disorder. They were shook, notwithstanding their utmost endeavors to remain firm. Their Shields were snatcht, as it were, out of their Hands. The Arrows which they drew, either lost their force in the air, or returned against themselves. The Darts, which they let fly against them, being driven back by rapid Whirlwinds, fell upon their own breasts with deep and mortal wounds. Clouds of dust, which the Storm had raised, beat against the faces of the Soldiers, and deprived them of the use of sight, and even respiration. Thus they continued as it were immoveable, and tied by an invisible power, without being able either to attack, or defend themselves, being exposed to the Darts and Javelins, which were directed against them from all parts.

*Claud. in Paneg. Con. Honor. Oros. ib. Aug. de civ. Dei. l. 26. Ruffin. Socrat. Theodor. Sozom.*

An 394

Theod. ib.

Then the Troops of *Theodosius* acknowledged the assistance of Heaven, which fought so manfully for them; break thro' the Enemy with Swords in hand, and make a horrible slaughter of the *Barbarians*, who the day before had got so much advantage. *Arbogastes*, after having vainly employed his utmost capacity against Heaven and Earth, saw no safety for himself but in flight. The Captains of the Western Legions asked for Quarter, and implored the mercy of the Conqueror, whom God had made them subject, and *Theodosius* saw himself the second time a subduer of a Tyrant, and absolute Master of the two Empires.

He made the slaughter cease immediately. He afforded all the Officers the grace which they implored, and gave them Orders, for a proof of their Fidelity, to bring *Eugenius* to him. The chief amongst them departed without delay to execute this Order. They found upon an Ascent the Tyrant, who confiding in the first Successes of *Basileus*, and not having been able to discern the defeat of his Troops amongst the Storms and Dust which covered them, expected every moment the News of an entire Victory. He perceived the Men, who came towards him full speed; and beginning to triumph within himself, he awaited them, as soon as he could be understood, if he brought *Theodosius* to him, as he had commanded them. All the return which they made, was to carry him off himself, to dispossess him of his Imperial Robes, and to draw him along to the feet of the Conqueror.

LXI. *Theodosius* regarding him with an Air of Contempt, mixed notwithstanding with some pity.

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edged, reproached him with the Murder of *Valenti-*  
the Usurpation of the Empire, the Disorders  
a Civil War, and particularly the overturning  
of Religion, and the Honours rendred to the Sta-  
of *Marcian* and *Jupiter*: and as this miserable  
man, without other justification, cowardly beg'd  
his Life, the Emperor turning himself, abandoned  
to the Soldiers; who cut off his Head in the  
4<sup>th</sup> year of his Reign, upon the 6<sup>th</sup> day of *Septem-*

*Sacerat.*  
*Sozom.*

The unfortunate *Augustus*, after having  
wandered two days thro' the Mountains, deserted  
of God and Man, and despairing of being able to  
escape those who sought after him to lead him to  
*Theodosius*, took his punishment upon himself, and  
directed two Swords one after another thro' his  
Body.

*Claud. in*  
*3. Consul.*

LXII. The Emperor being satisfied with the  
death of these two Criminals, pardoned all the  
rest who were of their Party. Never was Prince  
more moderate in his Victories. He never in-  
ulted over the Conquered, and often pitied them.  
His fierceness usually ceased with the War. He  
knew how to pardon, but scarce how to punish;  
and forgetting that he had Enemies, as soon as he  
had overcome, he was even generous to those who  
had born Arms against him.

He was informed that the Children of *Eugenius*  
and *Flavian* had taken Sanctuary in the Churches  
of *Aquileia*: he sent a Tribune immediately with  
Order to save their Lives. He took care to  
have them educated in the Christian Religion. He  
best Possessions and Employments for them, and  
treated them as if they had been of his own Fa-  
mily.

22

After



An. 324.

August. l. 5.  
de civ. Dei.  
c. 26.

August. ib.

Paulin. in  
vita Ambr.

After having given Orders for the preservation of his Enemies, he made large Compensations to the Troops, and distributed amongst them all the Booty; and as he made those Statues of *Jupiter* be taken away, which the Pagans had fixed upon the Mountains, having heard some Soldiers to say pleasantly, *That they would be glad to be thunder-struck with those Thunderbolts of Gold*, he bestowed them immediately upon them. But as this Victory was rather God's than his own, his principal care was to make a solemn Thanksgiving throughout the whole Empire to be rendered to him. He dispatched Couriers to *Constantinople*, to advise the young Princes, whom he had left there, of the happy success of his Arms. He wrote particularly to *St. Ambrose* concerning it, to entreat him to thank God for his Victory.

LXIII. This holy Archbishop had returned to *Milan*, as soon as *Eugenius* and *Arbogastes* were departed thence; and what Terror soever they had dispersed in *Italy*, he had always hoped that God would favor the good Party, and undertake the protection of *Theodosius*. When he understood that this Prince had gained the Battle, and had received his Orders, he offered in his Name the very Sacrifice, putting his Letter upon the Altar, representing it to God as an earnest of the Faith of this pious Emperor. After he had performed this Duty, he sent one of his Deacons to him with Letters, by which, after having expressed his desire for the prosperity of his Arms, he represented to him that he ought to give God the whole glory thereof; that his Piety had contributed more to it, than his Valor; and that his Victory was still incomplete, if he did not pardon those who were involved in the misfortune, rather than

the Crimes of the Tyrants. A little while after he departed himself from *Milan*, in order to go and wait upon the Emperor at *Aquileia*. An 394.

LXIV. Their interview was full of joy and tenderness. The Archbishop prostrated himself before this Prince, whom his Piety, and the visible protection of God upon him, had rendred more venerable than his Victories, or his Crowns, and pray'd, That God would load him with all the prosperities of Heaven, as he had loaded him with all those of the Earth. The Emperor, on his side cast himself at the feet of the Archbishop, imputing to his Prayers the Favors which he had received from God, and entreating him to pray for his Salvation, of which he had done for his Success. Then they entertained themselves about the means of restoring Religion to the state wherein it was before the War, and separated no more.

LXV. In the mean time the Couriers which had been dispatched to *Constantinople*, arrived there; and the noise of the defeat of *Eugenius* being soon dispersed into all the Provinces of the Empire, they made publick Rejoycings upon it. Some Historians report, that this News had been already declared by extraordinary ways; and that at the very moment *Theodosius* forced the passage of the Alps, a *Dæmon* whom they adured in the Church of *St. John Baptist*, which this Prince had built, cry'd out in a wretched manner, *Must I then be overcome, and my Army put to the Rout?* The Prediction of the holy Abbot *John* was yet more observable: *Evagrius* and his Companions, who at that time visited the Monasteries of *Thebais*, stay'd some time with this wonderful Solitary;

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Evagr. l. 1.

c. 1:

Pallad. in

Lausiac.

c. 4.

and as they took their leaves of him, after having received his Instructions, and admired his Sanctity, he said to them in blessing them, *Go in peace, dear Children, and know that they bear this day in Alexandria, that the Emperor Theodosius has defeated the Tyrant Eugenius: But this Prince will not long enjoy the advantage of his Victory, and God will ere long withdraw him from this world.* The truth of these Predictions was observed in the times wherein the holy Man had marked them.

The young Emperors forgot nothing that might conduce to make this Victory the more illustrious. They made great Presents to the People, gave them stately Shows, and particularly rendered thanks to God with a magnificence, which the presence and that of the chief Bishops of the East rendered very solemn.

LXVI. *Ruffin*, who absolutely governed the Empire in the absence of *Theodosius*, had called those Prelates to *Constantinople* for an Ecclesiastical Ceremony. This Minister a long time disguised his Vanity and his Ambition under the appearances of an affected Modesty; and whether it was to give the Emperor, who loved him, a good opinion of himself, or to make the Courtiers less suspicious, who envied his Fortune, he became every day more powerful, without seeming to have more Pride. He softly looked after the means to enrich himself; and altho' he was naturally disposed to Figure and Noise, his Avarice retained his Pride. But when he saw himself assured of the favor of his Master, and loaded with the Riches he had received of him, or which he had himself unjustly got, he abandoned himself to his own nature, and became insolent, when he



he thought he might continue so without danger. He made himself a great number of Creatures, marched with a Retinue that was unbecoming a private Man, and built Houses of more splendor than the Emperor's Palaces.

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LXVII. One of his chief cares had been to build near one of the Suburbs of *Calcedon*, call'd *The Suburb of Oak*, a House of Pleasure, so vast, that one would have taken it for a City; and so rich in precious Ornaments and Furniture, that it was scarce credible that a private Man could be able to supply those exceeding charges. On one side arose a great Church in honour of the Apostles *St. Peter* and *St. Paul*; on the other appeared in perspective upon a neighbouring Eminence a Monastery, which was to serve for a supply to the want of the Clergy of this Church. As soon as these Buildings were compleated, *Ruffin* resolved to be baptized, and to celebrate at the same time with all imaginable Pomp, the Consecration of this new Church.

Socr. l. 8. c. 17.

The Emperors had rendred this kind of Ceremony very formal, in calling to it a great number of Bishops, and afterwards converting these Assemblies of Decency and Piety, into certain Councils and Canonical Assemblies. *Constantine* the Great had taken that method for the Dedication of the Temple of the holy Sepulchre at *Jerusalem*, and his Son *Constantine* had followed his Example in the Consecration, which he made of the golden Temple at *Antioch*.

Euseb. l. 4. de vita Const. c. 44. Sacrat.

*Ruffin* proposed to himself these great examples, and mixing with a little Religion a great deal of ostentation and staveliness, he called the Bishops from all parts of the East, especially those who

Theod. l. 31. c. 31.



held the chief Sees. He likewise entreated, by repeated Letters, the most famous Solitaries of Egypt, to leave their Solitude in order to come and assist at this illustrious Ceremony. The rank which he held in the Empire, whereof he had the chief direction under the Prince *Arcadius*, induced a great number of Bishops to depart upon the first advice they received, who brought along with them the most holy Persons of their Provinces. The Assembly was very numerous. There was therein three Patriarchs, *Nectarius* of *Constantinople*, *Theophilus* of *Alexandria*, and *Flavian* of *Antioch*. *Gregory* Bishop of *Nissa*, *Amphilochus* of *Leunium*, *Paul* of *Heraclea*, *Dioscorus* of *Helenopolis*, and several other famous Prelates were of the first that arrived there. The Principal of the Nobility and Clergy with an infinite number of People resorted thither, some to honour this Festival; others to court this Favourite, many to satisfy their curiosity.

This ceremony was performed in the month of September. The Church was hung with admirable Tapestry; the Altar shined with Gold and precious Stones. The Consecration was done with all the Order and Magnificence imaginable. After the Offices were over, they proceeded with the same Pomp to the Baptism of *Ruffin*. The Patriarch *Nectarius* administered it to him; and the famous *Evagrius* of *Pontus*, who had been persuaded to come from Egypt with the Solitary *Ammonius*, received from the Font this regenerated man, who did not long preserve his innocence. Thus concluded that Solemnity, which had been one of the holiest and most magnificent of the Eastern Church, if it had not been attended with a profane luxury, and if this Minister by his actions, and his injustice,

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injustice, had not been of a humor to regain upon the People those excessive Sums, which he seemed to have employed for God in this occasion.

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**LXVII.** The Bishops repassed the Sea along with him, and reassembled at *Constantinople* the 28<sup>th</sup> day of *September*, to decide the difference between *Agapin* and *Gabadius* concerning the Pretensions which both had to the Bishoprick of *Bostres*. It was in this Synod, that it was decreed that a Bishop was not to be deposed by one alone, nor by two of his Brethren; but that for a deposition in formis, there required a general Assembly of all the Bishops of the Province. *Theophilus* of *Alexandria* had opened this advice, and he was the first that infringed this Rule, in deposing by his own Authority *Dioscorus* Bishop of *Helenopolis*.

*Zonar.  
Theod.  
Balsam.*

These Prelates who were then at *Constantinople*, took part in the publick Joy, and after having celebrated in presence of *Arcadius* and all his Court, the sacred mysteries in a Thanksgiving for the Victory, which the Emperor had obtained upon the Tyrants, they retired into their respective Diocesses, to acquaint their People with the wondrous works of God, and the Protection which he had given the Empire.

**LXIX.** In the mean time *Theodosius* by the counsels of *St. Ambrose* applied himself to abolish the superstitions of *Paganism*, prohibiting, under very severe penalties, the exercise of all profane Religions; and declaring that if he had conquered by the assistance of God, he had likewise only conquered for his glory. He nominated Consuls, the two Sons of *Anycus Probus*, formerly *Præfectus Prætorio* under the Great *Valentinian*, and so illustrious

*Ambr. in  
fun. Theod.*

An. 394.

Paulin. in  
vit. Ambr.  
Cland. de  
consul. Olib.  
& Prob.

strious not only in the *Roman* Empire, but also in foreign Kingdoms, that two of the wisest and most powerful Lords of *Persia* came into *Italy* to see, as two miracles of the World, at *Milan* St. *Ambrose*, famous amongst the Bishops, and at *Rome* *Arcadius Probus*, illustrious amongst the *Roman* Senators. This man had brought up his Sons in the purity of the Faith, and all the exercises of Christian Piety, and *Theodosius*, who in the choice of Magistrates, had regard to the merit of Persons, and to the honour of Religion, passed over the ordinary Rules, and put the whole Consulship into this vertuous Family.

Ambr. in  
fun. Theod.

Num. c. 31.  
Basil. ad  
Amphiloch.  
c. 13. Can.  
Penit. 11.

LXX. After having settled the most pressing affairs, whether he found himself in a decaying State, or had made serious reflections upon the Prophecy of the holy Abbot *John*, instead of his triumphs, he disposed himself for death. Howsoever just the war had been, which he had undertaken against the Enemies of God and the State, nevertheless as there had been a great deal of blood spilt, this Prince was willing to abstain some time from the reception of the Eucharist, judging himself unworthy, according to the Genius of the Law of *Moses*, and some Penitential Canons, to partake of these mysteries of Peace, till such time as he had purified his heart and hands, and had effaced by his repentance those gross impressions, which even lawful angers and revenges give to the greatest Souls.

He departed from *Aquileia* with these inclinations, and came to *Milan* in order to a more quiet application to his conscience under the direction of St. *Ambrose*, who was gone a day before him, and to receive there more commodiously his Sons

*Arcadius*

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*Arcadius* and *Honorius*, whom he had sent for from *Constantinople*. Scarce was he arrived there, but he found himself weaker, and more indisposed than he was before. Yet he did not relax any thing of his usual cares, assisting at all his Councils, hearing himself the complaints of the People, signing the acts of grace which he had afforded his Enemies, labouring to re-establish that order, which *Exuperius* had disturbed throughout the West, and believing himself obliged to act after this manner to the utmost extremity, and to sacrifice still the small remains of life to the good and repose of his Empire.

An. 394

Secret.  
Sequent.

LXXI. The young Emperors found him in this condition, when they arrived at *Milan*; and the joy of seeing their Father again was soon moderated, by the affliction which they had to see him assaulted by a mortal Dropsy. *Theodosius* would receive them in the Church, where he had caused himself to be conveyed in order to partake of the Sacrament, which a nicety of conscience and a profound respect had made him defer the reception of till then. There he embraced them tenderly, and after having returned thanks to God for the comfort which he gave him by reviewing these two Princes, he took them by the hand, and presented them to *St. Ambrose*, conjuring him before the Altars, to take the conduct of their consciences, to maintain in their minds those Principles of Religion and Equity, which he had endeavoured to inspire him with, and to be as a Father to them after his death.

Paulin. in  
vit. Ambr.

Ambr. in  
fun. Theod.

LXXII. At



An. 395

Zep. 44.

Oros. l. 7.  
c. 36.

LXXII. At his coming out of the Church, he was obliged to take his Bed, and the Fever being encreased, he applied himself to give his last Orders to the Affairs of the Church, the Empire, and his Family. He assembled in his Chamber the Deputies of the Senate, and the Lords of his Court, who were yet Pagans, and remonstrated to them, *That he retained in dying but the single regret of seeing them still Idolaters; That he wondered how such wise and understanding Men should not apprehend their Error, or should rather chuse to follow Custom, than Truth; That the defeat of Eugenius was a convincing proof of the vanity of their Oracles, and the impotency of their Gods; That these Gods had been Men of impure and irregular Lives, and that it was unreasonable to adore them, since their Power was not to be feared, nor their Actions worthy of imitation; That they should permit themselves to be influenced by the force of Truth, by the example of the first Magistrates of the Empire, and also by the last affections of their dying Emperor, who for some time interrupted the thoughts of his Salvation, to put them in mind of theirs; That indeed his great desire had been to extirpate, during his Reign, all false Religions, and to make all his Subjects faithful Servants of Jesus Christ; That God had not esteemed him worthy of this Favor, but that he hoped his Children would be more successful than he, and would compleat what he had begun.*

Ambros.  
in fun.  
Theod.

LXXIII. After having dismissed the Senators, he made his last Will, wherein he ordered, *That the People should be discharged of the augmentations of Tribute, which the necessity of past Affairs had occasioned the imposing; desiring that his Subjects might enjoy the advantage of that Victory to which they had contributed*

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by their Prayers, or their Labours; and recommending to his Successors the easing of the Provinces, without enlarging their Treasury with the substance of the Poor, and scattering it away in vain and superfluous Expences. This Order, after his death, was punctually executed.

An. 395.

Claudian.

in Cons.

Honor.

He joined to this Act of Goodness, an Act of Generosity and Mercy. He had granted a general Pardon to all the Rebels who were returned to their Obedience. He meant that they should be re-established in their Estates and Dignities, and should resume in the Court the same Rank which they held therein before their Rebellion. But as he had not time to execute all his intentions, he was afraid lest after his death the new Emperors, by the evil counsel of their Friends, should stop the course of those Reconciliations which remain'd to come. He confirmed then by a Law, which he caused to be inserted in his Will, the Amnesty which he had already published, establishing his hopes in the mercy of God, upon that he himself shewed his Enemies. He enjoined his Children religiously to observe this Order, and left them Examples and Commands deserving of a Christian Emperor.

Ambros.

in sum.

Theod.

LXXIV. He divided the Empire between those two Princes, giving the East to Arcadius, and to Honorius the West. He recommended to them, above all things, a Piety towards God, and a zeal for Religion. He made them recollect what he had often said to them, That they should distinguish themselves from their Subjects, more by Wisdom and Virtue, than by Greatness and Authority; That it was a great piece of Indiscretion to pretend to give Laws to the whole World, if one is ignorant how to prescribe them to himself;

Ambros.

in sum.

Theod.

An. 395.

self; That one did not deserve to command *Athen*, if one had not learnt to obey God; That they ought to found the felicity of their Reigns, not upon the prudence of their Counsels, nor upon the force of their Armies, but upon their fidelity to God, and the care which they should take of his Church; That this was the original of Victories, of Peace, and of all the Prosperity of *Sovereigns*. Then turning himself towards *St. Ambrose* who was present, These, said he, are the Truths which you have learnt me, and which I my self have experienced; I will your part to make them pass in my Family, and to instruct, according to your custom, these young Emperors whom I leave to you. The holy Archbishop made answer to him, That he would be mindful of their Salvation, and hoped that God would give to the Children that tractable heart and easie temper, which he had given to the Father.

LXXV. After that, *Theodosius* declared *Stilicon* Tutor of his Son *Honorius*, and Lieutenant General of the Armies of the two Empires, and recommended to him likewise his two Children. He thought himself obliged to testify this confidence to a Man, who had very faithfully served him in the most important Affairs of his Reign, and who had the honour to marry the Princess *Serena* his Niece. *Stilicon* was a great Soldier, and an excellent Statesman; wise in the counsel, bold in the execution, expert in managing the minds of People; fit to discover happy moments, and to make use of them, whether in Treaties or Battels; dexterous in finding out the Interests of the Grantees of the Empire, and piercing into the designs of Foreign Nations; beloved of the Troops, capable of supporting the burden of Affairs, of forming a young Emperor in the exercises

Claudian.

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ses of Peace and War, and diverting troubles by his Wisdom, or putting a stop to them by his Courage and his Valor.

Am 377

These great Qualities rendered him worthy of the choice which *Theodosius* had made of him, till being engaged by the jealousies of *Ruffia*, and his own ambition, seduced with his credit and the success of several Battels, reducing all publick Affairs to his own private designs and interests, relighting himself the Wars which he had extinguished, and recalling those Enemies which he had chased away, in order to make use of them upon occasion, he was weary of being nothing but the Tutor, the Father-in-law, the Favorite, and even the Master of the Emperor, and attempted to put the Empire in his own Family.

LXXVI. Since the Emperor's arrival at *Milan*, this City had disposed itself to prepare a stately Triumph for him, and to celebrate by all kind of Rejoycings a Victory, which had made him absolute Master of the two Empires. His indisposition had retarded the publick Sports, which made the chief part of this Festival. But at length, after having settled his Affairs, he found himself much eased; and whether he was unwilling, that the City should make in vain so considerable an Expence, or whether he had a design to comfort the People, by shewing himself once more in publick, he gave notice to the Magistrates, that he would be at the *Circus* on the morrow to receive the honour which they intended for him. He made himself to be carried there in the morning, and assisted some time at a course of Horses, after which he retired, more filled with the apprehensions of Death, than the Idea's of his Triumph.

Socrus. l. 7.  
c. ult.

LXXVII.



An. 395.

LXXVII. Scarce was he arrived at the Palace, but he found himself worse than before. He commanded his Son *Honorius* to go and hold his place in the *Circus*. As for him, he passed the rest of the day in conversing with St. *Ambrose* about the vanity of humane *Grandeurs*, and giving his Son *Arcadius* those counsels which he thought to be most important for his Conduct, and for that of his Empire. The same night his distemper being considerably encreased, he was sensible of the diminution of his strength, and some hours after he quietly departed this life upon the 17<sup>th</sup> day of *January*, in the year 395, being the 16<sup>th</sup> of his Empire, and the 30<sup>th</sup> of his Age.

Prosper:  
Marcellin.  
Socrat. l. 5.  
d. 25.

Zoz. l. 5.

This death was lamented by all the People of the Empire, and even the most barbarous Nations. *Arcadius* returned immediately to *Constantinople*, in order to prevent those Confusions which might happen upon such Revolutions. *Ruffin* being at that time *Præfectus Prætorio*, accompanied him thither, vexed with envy and jealousy against *Silicon*, whom they had raised above him, and revolving already in his mind the design of abusing the weakness of his Master, of destroying all that was an obstacle to his power, of embroiling the Empires and Emperors by his secret Intelligences with the *Huns*, the *Goths*, and the *Alains*, and to render himself Sovereign, or at least independant both on his Masters and his Enemies.

LXXVIII. *Honorius* remained near the Body of his Father, to render him the last devoirs of Christian Piety. He assisted at the stately Funeral which was made for him at *Milan* forty days after his death. St. *Ambrose* preached his Funeral Sermon.

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mon, wherein he represented to his Auditors, *That they had lost an Emperor, but that God having withdrawn him into his eternal Mansions, one might say that he had only changed his Empire; That his Piety was still alive; That he had by the constancy of his Faith abolished all the Superstitions of the Gentiles; That having no more to give his Sons, whom he had made Emperors, his only prospect in dying, was to leave his Subjects in peace and abundance, by remitting the injuries which they had done him, or the Taxes which had been imposed upon them; That his last Appointments had been Rules of Charity and Mercy, and that they were rather Laws than Articles of a Will.*

An. 395.

Ambros. in  
serm. Theod.

Then he declares, *That he will ever preserve in his heart all the tenderness which he had conceived for this Prince, who in his Wars had always trusted to the assistance of Heaven, and had never presumed upon his own Forces; who had more esteemed those who reproved him, than those who flattered him; and who, when almost at extremity, was more in pain for the state wherein he left the Church, than that wherein his Family would be after his death.*

He could not hinder himself particularly from commending his Clemency: *That it is a great and extraordinary happiness, said he, to find a Prince pious and faithful, who being carried by his power to revenge himself upon his Enemies, is retained by his goodness! Theodosius, of august memory, thought to have received a Favor, when he was entreated to pardon an Offence, which had been committed against him. The more Passion he had discovered, the more he was inclined to grant the Pardon which was demanded of him. The heat of his displeasure was a prejudication that he would pardon. Instead of fearing their anger in other Princes, contrariwise they wished it in him. We have seen Men convicted by him of their Crime, terrified and repulsed*

by the Reproaches which he made them, obtain their pardon of a sudden. He was for conquering, and not punishing. He made himself Arbitrator of Equity, and not Judge of Rigor. He never refused to pardon those who acknowledged their faults. As for those who hid something from him, which they retained in the bottom of their Conscience, he told them, that he left the decision thereof to God. This expression of his was of more terror to them than the punishment, because they saw this Emperor so moderate and easy, that he chose rather to win Men to his service by Religion, than fear.

At last the holy Archbishop directs himself to the young Emperor, who was attentive to him, and who melted into tears. He commends him for his Affection and his Piety, and the sensible Concern he was under for being unable to conduct himself the Body of his Father to *Constantinople*. He comforts him, by representing to him the Honours which would be rendred to the memory of this Prince in all the Cities of the Empire, and after having given him a lively Idea of the glory which the great *Theodosius* enjoyed, he encourages him to imitate his Virtues, and to make an advantage of his Example.

LXXIX. The Body of this Emperor was conveyed the same year to *Constantinople*, and whether in *Italy*, which he had delivered from Tyrants; or in the East, which he had governed with abundance of wisdom and goodness, he had Honours performed to him, which rather resembled Triumphs, than Funeral Solemnities. *Arcadius* his eldest Son received him upon the 8<sup>th</sup> of November, and caused him to be laid with a magnificence worthy of so great an Emperor, into the Sepulchre of *Constantine*.

LXXX. The Ecclesiastical Authors, and the Pa-  
gans themselves agree, that he was a most accom-  
plished Prince. Those who had consulted Histo-  
ries, or seen the Pictures of the ancient Emperors,  
found that he resembled *Trajan*, from whom he  
drew his Original. He was like him, of a tall  
Stature, had a handsom Head, his Aspect great and  
noble, the turn and features of his Face were regu-  
lar, and all his Body well proportioned.

August.  
Ambros.  
Socrat.  
Sozom.  
Themist.  
Symmach.  
Aurel.  
Victor, &c.

As for the qualities of the Soul, he possessed all  
the perfections of that Emperor; and had none of  
his defects. He was, like him, gracious, just, mag-  
nificent, merciful, and always ready to assist the un-  
fortunate. He communicated himself to his  
Courtiers, and was only distinguished from them  
by the Purple wherewith he was invested. His  
Civility for the Grandees of his Court, and his  
Esteem for Persons of Merit and Virtue, obtained  
him the Friendship of both. He loved free and  
sincere Minds, and admired all those who excelled  
in Letters, or in the noble Arts, provided he ob-  
served in them neither Affectation nor Malice.  
All who deserved to partake of his Bounties, felt  
the effects thereof. He made great Presents, and  
made them with greatness. He took pleasure in  
divulging to the least Offices which he had recei-  
ved from private Men in his first Fortune, and spae-  
red nothing to testify his Acknowledgment to  
them. Ambition did not make him attempt to  
conquer the Provinces of his Neighbors, but he  
knew how to punish them who usurped his own,  
or those of his Collegues. Thus did he procure  
himself no Enemies during his Reign, but he van-  
quished those who became so. He was well  
enough versed in Learning, and made use thereof



An. 395.

out affectation. The reading of Historys was not useleſs to him, and he applied himſelf to form his manners upon the Vertues of great Princes, who had preceded him. He deteſted often in publick the pride, the cruelty, the ambition and tyranny of *Cinna*, *Marius*, *Sylla*, and their followers, in order to impoſe upon himſelf a happy neceſſity of purſuing a conduct oppoſed to that, which he condemned; above all he was a declared Enemy of Traytors, and ungrateful men.

One may tax him with being carried ſometimes to Paſſion, but it muſt be a great occaſion; beſides that he was ſoon appeaſed. His accels was agreeable and eaſy; and what is extraordinary amongſt Great Men, his Proſperities and his Victories, inſtead of puffing him up, or corrupting him, did but render him the more gentle, and obliging. He took care to furniſh thoſe Provinces, which the war had ruined, with Proviſions in abundance, and he reſtored out of his own money conſiderable Sums, which the Tyrants had extorted from private men. In War, he always marched at the head of his Armies, expoſing himſelf to danger, and ſharing all fatigues with the meaneſt Soldiers.


He was chaſt, and by ſevere Laws he aboliſhed thoſe cuſtoms that were contrary to decency and modeſty. Altho he was of a conſtitution nice enough, yet he maintained his health by a moderate exerciſe, and diet. It was nevertheless one of his ſatisfactions to entertain his Friends at Table, and to improve Friendſhip by all kind of decent rejoycings. In theſe particular Feaſts, where he conſulted rather neatneſs and politeneſs, than luxury and profuſion, he enjoyed the pleaſures of ſociety, and revealed himſelf with a reaſonable familiarity,

miliarity, which afforded confidence, without lessening the respect which was owing to him. His principal diversions were conversation and walking, when he had a mind to recreate himself after the cares of business.

Never did Prince live so well in his Family. He honoured his Uncle as his Father. After the death of his Brother, he was as careful of his Children, as of his own. He advanced to Employ, ments those, who stuck to his Service, and served as a Father to all his Relations. Thus after he had regulated in the day the affairs of the Empire, and given Laws to the whole World, he shut himself up with joy in his Family, where by his cares, his affections, and his goodness, he made appear to his own People that he was as good a Friend, as good a Relation, as good a Master, as good a Husband, and as good a Father, as he was a Wise and Powerful Emperor.

This is the Character, which is left us of the Great Theodosius, by Pagan Authors who were his Contemporaries, altho prejudiced against him for the Interests of their Religion. The Philosopher *Themistius*, and *Symmachus* himself, that great Defender of Paganism, acknowledge sincerely, that the Vertues of this Prince exceed all the Praises which have been conferred upon him. There is none but the Historian *Zozimus*, who by premeditated falsehoods seeks to discredit those Christian Emperors, who have destroyed the worship of Idols. He disguises the truth according to his Caprice and his Passion, and endeavours to make vices of all the Vertues of this Emperor. He calls his liberalities profusions, his moderation laziness, his friendly banquets dissolutions, and that agreeable and sweet life he led in peace, a soft and voluptuous

*Themist.*  
*Orat. 5.*  
*Symm. l. 2.*  
*Ep. 3.*

*Am. 396*  
*Zoz. l. 4.*  lupprous one. He is notwithstanding obliged by force of truth to confess, that in time of war there was an extraordinary change of manners in him; that he forgot on a sudden his amusements and his pleasures, to take the cares and vertues that were necessary to the safety of the Empire; and that of an infirm and sensual Emperor, there was formed a valiant and laborious Prince, by a kind of prodigy.

Not but that *Theodosius* had his failings. His transports of anger, his easiness to believe those in whom he reposed some confidence, and his engagement in favour of those whom he had chosen for his principal friends, are stains that would a little obscure the life of this Emperor, if they were not confounded in an infinite number of glittering actions, or effaced by a severe repentance.

The Holy Fathers who knew him best, could not be tired with commending his Piety. *St. Ambrose*, and *St. Austin* have left Encomiums of him in several places of their writings, and *St. Paulin* being retired to *Nole* made an Eloquent and Learned Apology in favour of this Prince, which *St. Jerome* calls an excellent Panegyrick, whose loss cannot be sufficiently Lamented.

*Hierom.*  
*Ep. 13.*

FINIS.

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